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ISSN 0030 – 5324

JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA, VADODARA

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
VADODARA

Edited by :
M.L. WADEKAR
OFFG. DIRECTOR,
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

[Picture of Devī, Acc. No. 7200]

Vol. LI] September – December 2001 [Nos. 1 – 2

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Journal
of the
Oriental Institute
M.S. University of Baroda

Vol. LI, Nos. 1- 2
September & December, 2001

THE ṚV. IV 40.5 *HAṀSAVATĪ ṚC* - A STUDY

GAURI MAHULIKAR*

The ṚV. IV. 40 is addressed to Dadhikrā, the horse, by seer Vāmadeva Gautama. The fifth verse in this hymn has Sūrya as its deity. The first four verses are addressed to the horse. Dadhikrā is a synonym for horse.[1] The fifth verse starts with the word *Haṁsaḥ,* as such is known as *Haṁsavatī Ṛc.* Apart from the ṚV, this finds place in the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*, X.24, XII.14, Taitt. Saṁ.I.8.15.2, Mai. Saṁ.III.2.1, IV.4.6., Kā.Saṁ.XV.8, XVI8, Ait.Br.-IV.20.5, Śat.Br. V.4.3.22, VI 7.3.11 & Taitt. Ār.X.10, II.50. Almost everywhere it occurs in the ritual context. But it has a spiritual backdrop as well; as explained by Sāyaṇa in his commentary on IV.40.5. Mahīdhara, while commenting upon Vāj. Saṁ.X.24, gives two different meanings of the verse; one applicable to Āditya as *haṁsa* & the other *ratha*-Chariot. Thus the verse with 17 words affords varied interpretations.

The word *haṁsa* can be derived from $\sqrt{han}$ - *ghnanti adhvānam,* that tread the path are *haṁsas*[2]. However, according to the *Kārikā* on Pā. Sū. VI.3. 109, the

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Journal of The Oriental Institute, Vol. LI, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 2001 pp. 1-8.
* Department of Sanskrit, The University of Mumbai, Vidyanagari, Mumbai - 400 098.
1. *Nighaṇṭu* - UI.37. *Aśvanāmāni.*
2. *Nirukta* IV.2.

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word *haṁsa* is derived from $\sqrt{has}$ with an addition of nasal in it.[3] White colour of the swan is associated here with smile which is fancied to be white by the poets.

Originally the word *haṁsa* refers to a white-coloured bird who is desirous of drinking Soma (RV.I.65.5, III, 45.4, IV.45.4).

The Popular belief says that this bird can discriminate between water and milk and it partakes only milk. Vāj.Saṁ. XIX.74, however, says that *haṁsa* separates soma from water. As the Sun-god is allegorically depicted as a bird, he is named *haṁsa*. S.A. Dange, observes that *haṁsa* staying in water is indicative of the cosmic life-principle that is manifest in the form of the Sun.[4] Once the name was given to the Sun, it got transformed to the terrestrial aspect of the Sun i.e. *Agni*. This association with *Agni*, is, perhaps the cause of the inclusion of this verse in the ritual context.

The white colour not only signifies smile, but everything noble, tranquil and sacred. This is the reason that in the philosophical development *haṁsa* became a symbol for *Paramātman*, the omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent principle. As *Paramātman*, *Haṁsa* is the creator of the universe. According to Santhāl tribals, their highest lord Maranburu creates a pair of *Haṁsa* at the beginning of creation and that creates men and women.[5]

Let us now examine the meaning of every word in this verse as applicable to Āditya, *Ratha* and *Paramātman*, in a tabular form.

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3. Pā-sū VI.3 109 पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टानि ।
वर्णागमो वर्णविपर्ययश्च द्वौ चापरौ वर्णविकारनाशौ ।
धातोस्तदर्थातिशयेन योगस्तदुच्यते पञ्चविधं निरुक्तम् ॥

4. Dange, S.A., *Images from Vedic Hymns & Ritual*, Aryan Books International, Delhi, 2000, p. 43. c.f.R.V. X. 124.9.

5. Joshi, Mahadevashastri, *Bhāratīya Saṅskṛtikośa*, Vol. 10, p. 238.

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RV. IV.40.5

हंसः शुचिषद् वसुरन्तरिक्षसद्
होता वेदिषद् अतिथिर्दुरोणसत् ।
नृषद् वरसद् ऋतसद् व्योमसद्
अब्जा गोजा ऋतजा अद्रिजा ऋतम् ॥

शब्दः	आदित्यः	रथः	परमात्मन्
हंसः	हन्त्यध्वानम्[6]-उवटः सर्वगन्ता सूर्यः- सायणः[7]	हन्ति पृथिवीम् - महीधरः	हन्त्यहङ्कारम्- महीधरः हन्ति पापानि-दयानन्दः[8] (अ)हं सः
शुचिषत्	शुचौ दीप्ते सीदति द्युलोकवासात्[9]	शुचौ देवयजने । रथवाहने सीदति ।	आदित्यरूपः परमात्मा ऐत. ब्रा.
वसुः	वसति सर्वदेति वसुः वायुः ।	स्वस्योपरि यजमानं वासयतीति वसुः ।	सर्वदा वसति । शरीरेषु वसति-दयानन्दः ।
अन्तरिक्षसत्	अन्तरिक्षे सीदति	वृक्षगुल्माद्यनवरुद्धे अन्तरिक्षे सीदति	वायुरूपेण सीदति
होता	अग्निरूपेण आह्वाता	आह्वाता	यजमानरूपेण आह्वाता
वेदिषत्	अग्निरूपेण वेदौ सीदति	वेद्यां सीदति	अग्निरूपेण सीदति ।
अतिथिः	अग्निरूपः अतिथिः	अतिथिवत्पूज्यः	अग्निरूपः
दुरोणसत्	लौकिकाग्निरूपेण दुरोणे गृहे सीदति	दुरोणे यज्ञगृहे सीदति	लौकिकाग्निरूपः
नृषत्	नृषु प्राणभावेन सीदति - वाज.सं जाठराग्निरूपेण स्थितः - सायणः दृष्टिरूपेण स्थितः - ऐत. ब्रा.[10]	नृषु वाहकत्वेन सीदति ।	प्राणरूपेण स्थितः । ' प्राणो वै ब्रह्म ।'

6. Vāj. Sam. X.24. with the commentary of Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara.
7. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on ṚV.IV.50.4. Vaidik Samshodhan Mandal, Pune.
8. *ṚK Saṁhitā*, Vol. V, VI, Veda Pratishthān, New Delhi, 1997.
9. Ait.Br. ed. by Dr. Sudhakar Malaviya, Tara Printing Works, Varanasi, 1980, p. 649.
10. *Ibid* आदित्यश्चक्षुर्भूत्वाऽक्षिणी प्राविशत् ।
तस्मादेष आदित्य एव नृषच्छब्दवाच्यः ॥

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शब्दः	आदित्यः	रथः	परमात्मन्
वरसत्	वरेषु उत्कृष्टेषु सीदति	श्रेष्ठे राजगृहे सीदति	वरे-परमे सीदति
ऋतसत्	ऋते सत्ये सीदति ऋतं सत्यवदनं वेदवाक्यं तत्र सीदति - ऐत.ब्रा.	ऋते यज्ञे सीदति वाजपेयादौ	ऋते सत्ये सीदति ' सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म ।'
व्योमसत्	आकाशमार्गे सीदति । वैद्युताग्निरूपः । -सायणः	सूर्यं वोढुं व्योमन्याकाशे सीदति	' खं ब्रह्म ।'
अब्जा	अद्भ्यो वा एष प्रातरुदेति वडवाग्निरूपः-सायणः	अप्सु योनिर्वा अश्व इति श्रुतेरद्भ्यो जातैरश्वैरुपे-तत्वात्	आदित्यरूपः अद्भ्यो उदेति ।
गोजा	गवि पृथिव्यां चतुर्विधभूतग्रामरूपेण जायते । गोषु रश्मिषु जातः । सायणः	गोशब्दवाच्यत्वात् वज्राज्जायत इति ।	गोभ्यो जायते जीवादिः । -ऐत ब्रा.[11]
अद्रिजा	अद्रौ पाषाणे अग्निरूपेण जायते । मेघोऽप्याद्रिरुच्यते, मेघे उदकरूपेण जायते । अद्रौ उदयगिरौ जायते ।	अद्रिभ्यः पाषाणसदृश-काष्ठेभ्यो जातत्वात् अद्रिजाः ।	अग्निरूपः ।
ऋतजा	सर्वैः दृश्यत्वेन सत्यजातः । -सायणः	ऋतं यज्ञमुद्दिश्य जातत्वादृतजाः ।	सत्यजाः
ऋतम्	ऋतं सत्यं तद्रूपेण स्थितः ।	ऋतं यज्ञमुद्दिश्य एव ।	ऋ-गतौ सर्वगतत्वात् ।

This verse is found in ritual context in almost all the Vedic texts. In the details of Rājasūya sacrifice, given in the 10th Chapter of *Vāj. Saṁ.*, is stated that the sacrificer, *yajamāna*, mounts a chariot symbolically, offers four oblations to Agni,

11. *Ibid* इन्द्रो वृत्राय वज्रं प्राहरत् स त्रेधा व्यभजत्तस्य ।
स्थस्तृतीयं रथस्तृतीयं यूपस्तृतीयम् ॥

12. RV.IV.40.5 *Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya.*
दशरात्रे षष्ठेऽहनि तृतीयसवने मैत्रावरुणशस्त्रे हंस...इत्येषा ।

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Soma, Maruts and Indra (X.23) and then he descends from the chariot, reciting the *haṁsavatī ṛc.* Sāyaṇa, before commenting on this verse, states that this is recited at the third oblation on the sixth day of Daśarātra.[12] This helps to attain heavenly world, confirms *Ait-Br.* also. Heaven is the world that can be obtained with great difficulty (*dūrohaṇam*), and this verse enables one to ascend to this world. Because it is a means to difficult world, the nature of the verse too, is difficult says Ait.Br.[13]

The process of reciting this verse is explained by Sāyaṇa, like this :- while ascending, the verse is recited four times. (i) First-recite the verse, taking break after every *pāda.* (ii) Only two breaks, i.e. half verse in single breath. (iii) *Tripadī*- break only once -3 *pādas* to be recited in single breath & (iv) entire verse to be recited in single breath, without any break. This would enable one to ascend heavenly world symbolically while descending the order is to be reversed. Sāyaṇa says, such recitation is not easy, it is difficult and therefore the recitation too is said to be *dūrohaṇa.*[14] It is stated, whatever is most difficult to ascend, one should try to ascend by *haṁsavatī* alone.[15]

Like *haṁsavatī, Tārkṣyasūkta* too is prescribed for ascending heaven.[16]

Śat.Br. observes that *haṁsavatī ṛc.* has *atijagatī* metre[17], as such it excels in every aspect. All other metres are included in it and therefore it is equipped with the magical potency of all the metres. One who mutters this, gets freed from all evils. Such *yajamāna* transgresses all sins.[18]

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13. Ait. Br. *op.cit.* दूरोहणं रोहति, स्वर्गो वै लोको दूरोहणम् । दुःशकं रोहणं यस्मिन्नादित्यमण्डले तद् दूरोहणं तत्रारोहणस्य साधनत्वान्मन्त्रस्वरूपमपि - दूरोहणमित्युच्यते ।

14. Ait. Br. with *Sāyaṇabhāṣya.* Anandashram, p. 493.

15. *Ibid* तस्माद्यत्र क्व च दूरोहणं रोहेद्धंसवत्यैव रोहेदिति ।

16. ṚV. X.178 it is a hymn of 3 verses dedicated to Tārkṣya, Garuḍa, recited in *Mahāvrata.*

17. Śat. Br. V.4.3.22.

18. *Ibid.* with the commentaries of Sāyaṇa and Harisvāmin, Nag Publishers, Delhi, 1999.

19. *Nirukta.* XIV.29.

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Yāska interprets this in favour of the Sun-god - representing the highest lustre i.e. *Paramātman.*[19] Āditya is the Sun, more so, it represents Brahman, the indefeasible, indefinable, all regulating principle, the supreme universal spirit, the infinite truth and wisdom. This can be compared with the Golden Man-*hiraṇmaya puruṣa*, seen in the solar orb, described in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad.*[20] He is *haṁsa* because he destroys individuality, destroys *ahaṁkāra.* Saints have used the word *haṁsa* frequently to denote *Para-brahman.* Nimbārkācārya, the main propagator of *Bhedābheda*, calls his cult as *Haṁsa Saṁpradāya.* There are two *Haṁsagītās;* popular spiritual discourses one in the *Mahābhārata*, dialogue between Haṁsa Prajāpati and *Sādhyas* and the other is found in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (XI.13.22-42) wherein Haṁsa Viṣṇu advised six sons of Brahmā.[21]

Dr. Kanwar finds a highly noble feeling of patriotism in this verse.[22] He takes *duroṇasat* to mean home in the form of nation. The enlightened (*haṁsa=prabhā*) lord is present in everyone (*nṛṣat*), established firmly in the soil (*vediṣat*), is fit to be worshipped like a guest (*atithi*), all protective (*vyomasat*), creator of water, kine and order and is invincible due to his omnipotence.

In the AV (XI.4.21) *ekam padaṁ notkhidati salilāt haṁsa ut caran, haṁsa* is Sūrya or Sāyaṇa interprets differently as *Prāṇa*, vital breath. *Haṁsa* arising from water (*salilāt ut caran*) is *Prāṇa* rising up from the body comprised of five gross elements. This *Prāṇa haṁsa*, does not throw one *pāda* in the form of *apāna* from the body. If it does, then the body would lie motionless, it would not have any experience of day & night, says Sāyaṇa.[23]

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20. Ch. Upa. I.6.6
य एषोऽन्तरादित्ये हिरण्मयः पुरुषो दृश्यते हिरण्यश्मश्रुः ।

21. Joshi, Mahadevashastri, *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛtikośa* Vol. 10, P. 239.

22. *Yajurveda*, Bhuvan Vani Trust, Luknow, 1992.

23. See *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on AV.XI. 4.21.

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Yāska quotes the AV XI.4.21, in support of *Aja Ekapāt* and says *Sa punarāditya eva nityamajati gacchati iti ajaḥ ekaḥ ca, Brahmaṇaḥ, pādaḥ। athavā-ekena pādena aṁśena sarvaṁ jagadanupraviśya pātīti vā ekapāt । athavā-ekena pādena pibati sarvasmāt jagataḥ udakamiti ekapāt। athavā ekaḥ asya pādaḥ jīvabhūtaḥ kṛtsne jagati anupraviṣṭaḥ।*[24] Yāska, with various interpretations of *ekaṁ padaṁ notkhidati,* gives different meanings of the word *haṁsa*; such as the Sun and *Parabrahman.* In this context, it is worth noticing that though AV terms the hymn as *Prāṇasūkta, Prāṇa* is nothing but Brahman. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* says, all the beings are born of *Prāṇa* and merge back in *Prāṇa* alone.[25]

Philosophically and spiritually, thus *haṁsa* is *Paramātman.* In the Āgamic literature also, *haṁsa* means *Paramātman*; but the explanation differs. According to *Śrīnāthanavaratnamālikā* of Śrīmaheśanātha, at the time of first creation, there arose 3 dots. One dot was male and two dots of *visarga* were female. From their union *hakāra* and *sakāra* were produced. The remaining third dot turned into a nasal and thus the word *haṁsa* was created. If it is reversed, it becomes *Paramātman Soham.*[26]

Thus a single verse of ṚV. (IV.40.5) has given rise to multiple interpretations and that too contrary to each other.

24. *Nirukta*, XII.18

25. Ch. Upa. I. 11.5
सर्वाणि ह वा इमानि भूतानि प्राणमेवाभिसंविशन्ति प्राणमभ्युज्जिहते ।

26. *Kāmakalāvilāsa*, Puṇyānandanātha, with commentary by Arthur Avalaon, Madras, 1953, p. 81.

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Abbreviations

Ait. Br. - *Aitreya Brāhmaṇa*

A.V. - *Atharvaveda*

Ch. Upa. - *Chāndogya Upaniṣad.*

Kā. Saṁ. - *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*

Mai. Saṁ. - *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*

Pā. Sū. - *Paṇiṇisūtra*

ṚV. - *Ṛgveda*

Śat. Br. - *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*

Taitt. Ar. - *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*

Taitt. Saṁ - *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*

Vāj. Saṁ. - *Vājasaneyisaṁhitā*

ऐत. ब्रा. - ऐतरेयब्राह्मणम्

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SOME REMARKS ON VEDIC INTERPRETATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE *ṚJUBHĀṢYAM*

M. L. WADEKAR*

Introductory :

Right from the *Brāhmaṇa* literature, there have been attempts at interpretation of the Vedic *Mantras* from various standpoints. Ancient and Modern commentators have also tried their best to unfold the most unscrutable and hidden import of the Vedic *Mantras*. The *Mantras* of *Śukla Yajurveda* are commented upon by Uvaṭa (U) (c. 1150 A.D.) and Mahīdhara (M) (c. 1700 A.D.), whose commentaries on the same are available in printed[1] form. The commentary *Vedavilāsa* - more famous as *Ṛjubhāṣya* of Gauradhara (C. 1350 A.D.), which is available in fragmentary form only on *adhyāyas* 29, 30, 31, 38, 39 (incomplete) and 40 in a rare manuscript of the Oriental Institute of Baroda[2]. The text is published in the form of two articles in the Journal of the Oriental Institute.[3] Though a small and fragmentary one, the commentary is very useful in understanding the Vedic *Mantras*. While interpreting the *Mantras*, the commentator had to face several difficulties and problems. The use of gender, number, case, tense, mood etc. in the formation of a word or a verb was required to be explained in some other way and thus there was *Vyatyaya*-inverted order or improper use of them. Many such cases were pointed out by the commentator and these have been treated in one of my articles to be published elsewhere.[4] Here in this article, his other noteworthy and outstanding remarks, regarding interpretation of Vedic *Mantras*, are considered.

Journal of The Oriental Institute, Vol. LI, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 2001 pp. 9-14.

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1. Panshikar, Vasudev Laxman (ed.) : *Śukla Yajurveda Saṁhitā (Śrīmad Vājasaneyi Mādhyandina)* with the *Mantrabhāṣya* of Mahāmahopādhyāya Śrīmad Uvaṭācārya and the *Vedadīpabhāṣya* of Śrīman Mahīdhara. (With Appendices and *Mantra-Kośa*), Second Edition, Published by Pandurang Jawaji, Proprietor of the Nirnaya Sagara Press, Mumbai, 1929.
2. Oriental Institute manuscript Acc. No. 10,600.
3. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. 49, Nos. 1-2, Sept.-Dec., 1999 Issue, pp. 7-26 and Vol. 49, Nos. 3-4, March-June, 2000, Issue, pp. 269-296.
4. *Prof. Dr. G.U. Thite Felicitation Volume*, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Delhi, Forthcoming.

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(I) Some Special Interpretations :

(1) In the *Mantra* (29.15)[5], the word *Samudra* is not to be interpreted in common sense of 'ocean' but here by it, '*antarikṣa*' - the sky is to be understood. This peculiar interpretation of the commentator is noteworthy.

(2) In the *Mantra* (31.16)[6], the word *Nāka* is found which is very accurately explained as connoting the meaning of each letter in it. He says - *Ka* means *Sukha*, when prefixed with '*a*' it means *asukha* but when it is again negativated by *na*, it becomes perfect happiness. Elsewhere there is some portion of happiness and some of unhappiness. But *Nāka* (Heaven) is a place where there is *Sukha* or happiness only and no tinge of unhappiness - this is the real import and implication of the word.

(3) In the *Mantra* (31.1)[7], the word '*sahasra*' is found as connected with the word *śīrṣa*, *akṣa* and also *pāt*. The word *sahasra* is not to be taken in its literal sense of thousand. Had it been so, the phrase *sahasrākṣa* would not have been possible. There would have been two thousand eyes and not one thousand. Hence the word, *sahasra* is to be interpreted in the sense of '*bahu*' (many) and not in the literal meaning of thousand.

(4) In the *Mantra* (29.56)[8], the word '*ducchunā*' occurs. It is interpreted as '*duḥsukhā*' by the commentator. Here he points out that the *Visarjanīya(ḥ)* is turned to half '*d*' in the word, hence the formation.

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5. त्रीणि त आहुर्दिवि बन्धनानि त्रीण्यप्सु त्रीण्यन्तः समुद्रे ।
उतेव मे वरुणश्छन्त्स्यर्वन्यत्रा त आहुः परमं जनित्रम् ॥ 29.15 ॥

6. यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवास्तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन् ।
ते ह नाकं महिमानः सचन्त यत्र पूर्वे साध्याः सन्ति देवाः ॥ 31.16 ॥

7. सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात् ।
भूमिं विश्वतो वृत्वात्यतिष्ठद्दशाङ्गुलम् ॥ 31.1 ॥

8. आक्रन्दय बलमोजो न आधा निष्टनिहि दुरितावाधमानः ।
अपप्रोथ दुन्दुभे दुच्छुना इत इन्द्रस्य मुष्टिरसि वीडयस्व ॥ 29.56 ॥

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(5) The commentator points out that the word '*na*' is interpreted in the sense of simile in the *Mantra* (29.30)[9], while it is to be understood in the sense *Upasarjana* in the *Mantra* (29.24)[10].

(6) In the *Mantra* (29.35)[11], the word '*tmanā*' is to be interpreted as '*ātmanā*'. In the *Mantras*, there is elision of *ākāra* in the formation of this word.

(II) Repetition for emphasis :

(1) In the *Mantras*, we sometimes find repetition of certain words or phrases. In the *Mantra* (38.11)[12], the phrase '*divi dhāḥ imaṁ yajñam*' is again repeated. In the *Mantra* (38.20)[13], *Sa no visvāyuḥ saprathāḥ* seems to be repeated by the phrase *sa naḥ sarvāyuḥ saprathāḥ*. Similarly, in the *Mantra* (40.8)[14], the commentator finds that the phrases - *akāyaṁ avraṇaṁ asnāviraṁ* seem to be redundant. When it is bodiless, the commentator states that it is without wound (*vraṇa*), because of its being bodiless. It's being *asnāviram* - without muscles is also because of it's having no body. These words, thus seem to be redundant.

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9. व्यचस्वतीरुर्विया विश्रयन्तां पतिभ्यो न जनयः शुम्भमानाः ।
देवीर्द्वारो बृहतीर्विश्वमिन्वा देवेभ्यो भवत सुप्रायणाः ॥ 29.30 ॥

10. उप प्रागात्परमं यत्सधस्थमर्वा २ अच्छा पितरं मातरं च ।
अद्या देवाञ्जुष्टतमो हि गम्या अथाशास्ते दाशुषे वार्याणि ॥ 29.24 ॥

11. उपावसृज त्मन्या समञ्जन्देवानां पाथ ऋतुथा हवींषि ।
वनस्पतिः शमिता देवो अग्निः स्वदन्तु हव्यं मधुना घृतेन ॥ 29.35 ॥

12. दिवि धा इमं यज्ञमिमं यज्ञं दिवि धाः ।
स्वाहाग्नये यज्ञियाय शं यजुर्भ्यः ॥ 38.11 ॥

13. चतुःस्रक्तिर्नाभिर्ऋतस्य सप्रथाः स नो विश्वायुः सप्रथाः स नः सर्वायुः सप्रथाः ।
अप द्वेषो अप ह्वरोऽन्यव्रतस्य सश्चिम ॥ 38.20 ॥

14. स पर्यगाच्छुक्रमकायमव्रणमस्नाविर ँ शुद्धमपापविद्धम् ।
कविर्मनीषी परिभूः स्वयम्भूर्याथातथ्यतोऽर्थान्व्यदधाच्छाश्वतीभ्यः समाभ्यः ॥ 40.8 ॥

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But in all the above cases, the commentator remarks like the *Nirukta* (10.42) - *abhyāse bhūyāṁsam artham manyante.* By repetition, the seers wish to give emphasis on certain point, previously referred to by them.

(III) Word as *Pādapūraṇas* - Expletives :

Sometimes in some *Mantras*, the words are used which carry no significance and import or meaning. They are used simply as *Pādapūraṇas* (filling up the lacuna) or expletives. He points out that in the *Mantra* (29.18),[15] it is used as *Pādapūraṇa* (*Iditi Pādapūraṇārthaḥ*). Uvaṭa (U) properly points out that both '*aṭ*' and '*it*' are expletives in this *Mantra*. Mahīdhara (M) interprets it as *anantarameva*. He does not take it as expletive. In the *Mantra* (29.29),[16] the word '*U*' is used which is said to be *Pādapūraṇārtha* by the commentator. U & M also interpret it in the same manner. While in the *Mantras* (29.40)[17], the word '*It*' is again interpreted as being expletive by the commentator and also by U and M in the same way.

(IV) *Vākyaśeṣa* resorted to :

In several *Mantras*, the commentator points out that there was necessity to add some words or phrases to make the import of the *Mantra* more clear. Thus, to ractify the ambiguity of a *Mantra*, the supplimented portion - the *Vākyaśeṣa* was required to be restored and resorted to.

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15. अत्रा॑ ते रू॒पमु॑त्तम॒मप॑श्यं जिगीषमाणमि॒ष आ प॒दे गोः ।
यद॒दा ते॒ मर्तो॑ अनु॒ भोग॒मान॒डादिद्ग्रसि॑ष्ठ ओषधीरजीगः ॥ 29.18 ॥

16. प्रा॒चीनं॑ ब॒र्हिः प्र॒दिशा॑ पृथि॒व्या वस्तो॑रस्या वृ॒ज्यते॒ अग्रे॒ अह्ना॑म् ।
व्यु॑ प्रथते वित॒रं व॑रीयो दे॒वेभ्यो॒ अदि॑तये स्यो॒नम् ॥ 29.29 ॥

17. वृ॒क्ष्य॑न्ती॒वेदा॑ग॒नीग॑न्ति॒ कर्ण॑ प्रि॒य ँ सखा॑यं परिषस्वजा॒ना ।
योषे॑व शिङ्क्ते॒ वित॒ताऽधि॒ धन्व॒ञ्ज्या इ॒य ँ समने॑ पारयन्ती ॥ 29.40 ॥

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1) In the *Mantra* (29.7),[18] the verb *Āsāta* is required to be added to make the sense more clear.

2) In the *Mantra* (29.8),[19] the verb *avatu* is to be supplimented.

3) In the *Mantra* (29.13),[20] the entire phrase- *ya Itthambhūto' śvastam stumaḥ iti śeṣaḥ* supplied the missing link.

4) In the *Mantra* (29.32),[21] the verb '*prasādhayatam*' is needed to be added to make the sense more clear.

5) The *Mantra* (29.43),[22] is incomplete in its import, unless the phrase - *Nayati prāpayati tam stumaḥ* is supplimented to it, to fill up the gap.

6) The *Mantra* (29.46),[23] needs the verb *Bhavantu* to be resorted to clarify the meaning of it.

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18. प्रथमा वां ऽ॒ सरथिना सुवर्णा देवौ पश्यन्तौ भुवनानि विश्वा ।
अपिप्रयं चोदना वां मिमाना होतारा ज्योतिः प्रदिशा दिशन्ता ॥ 29.7 ॥

19. आदित्यैर्नो भारती वष्टु यज्ञ ऽ॒ सरस्वती सह रुद्रैर्न आवीत् ।
इडोपहूता वसुभिः सुजोषा यज्ञं नो देवीरमृतेषु धत्त ॥ 29.8 ॥

20. यमेन दत्तं त्रित एनमायुनगिन्द्र एणं प्रथमो अध्यतिष्ठत् ।
गन्धर्वो अस्य रशनामगृभ्णात्सूरादश्वं वसवो निरतष्ट ॥ 29.13 ॥

21. दैव्या होतारा प्रथमा सुवाचा मिमाना यज्ञं मनुषो यजध्यै ।
प्रचोदयन्ता विदथेषु कारू प्राचीनं ज्योतिः प्रदिशा दिशन्ता ॥ 29.32 ॥

22. रथे तिष्ठन्नयति वाजिनः पुरो यत्र यत्र कामयते सुसारथिः ।
अभीशूनां महिमानं पनायत मनः पश्चादनुयच्छन्ति रश्मयः ॥ 29.43 ॥

23. स्वादुष ऽ॒ सदः पितरो वयोधाः कृच्छ्रेश्रितः शक्तीवन्तो गभीराः ।
चित्रसेना इषुबला अमृध्राः सतो वीरा उरवो व्रातसाहाः ॥ 29.46 ॥

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7) The phrase '*Upasaṁhārakāle*' is required to be added for the *Mantra* (31.4)[24] to bring out the import of the same.

8) The phrase *kṛta āsīt* should be understood to be *adhyāhṛta* (implied) in the *Mantra* (31.11)[25] according to the commentator.

Concluding Remarks :

These are some of the points, where the commentator, Gaṭuradhara has tried to explain some of the exegetical difficulties arising while interpreting the *Mantras*. His remarks are no doubt ingenious and exhibit speciality and outstanding interpretative acumen possessed by him, as glimpsed from the available fragmentary portion.

24. त्रिपादूर्ध्व उदैत्पुरुषः पादोऽस्येहाभवत्पुनः ।
ततो विष्वङ् व्यक्रामत्साशनानशने अभि ॥ 31.4 ॥

25. ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद्बाहू राजन्यः कृतः ।
ऊरू तदस्य यद्वैश्यः पद्भ्या शूद्रो अजायत ॥ 31.11 ॥

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THE VEDIC RIVER SARASVATİ

V.G. RAO*

The sacred literature of every religion abounds in parables and semantically loaded symbolisms, usually contrived and placed for easy comprehension of spiritual ideas by lay followers. Hindu texts are no exception to this unwritten convention. It is easy to be misled by the layers of meaning, informing our age-old scriptures, accumulated over time and open to subjective interpretations. One particular problem concerns the authenticity of the river Sarasvatī, venerated by Hindus throughout India with the fervency of the faithful and long believed to be a product of poetic reverie. But, not anymore. Scientific studies have dispelled this ambiguity and helped pulverise the myth of her mythic status. Amongst modern scholars there is broad agreement about the location and times of Sarasvatī, in the light of which, Punjab, Rajasthan and to a lesser extent Gujarat are seen emerging as major claimants to the legacy of Sarasvatī. Issuing forth from the bowels of the mighty Himalayas, in her westward course, to the Arabian Sea, she meandered through these states.

In 1991, G.E. Pilgrim published a landmark paper[1] in which he drew attention to an alluvial deposit of great antiquity found stretching all the way from the Himalayan foot hills to the Sind Gulf. Pilgrim imagined the deposit to have been laid by a primitive river that he named appropriately as the Sivalik River. Geological changes brought about a vivisection of this river leading to the formation of the Gangetic system, the Indus system and its five Punjab tributaries. Pointedly, the Ṛgvedic poets appear to have been aware of such a one as this, for the Sarasvatī of their vision is also looked upon as a gargantuan river flowing from the Himalayas to the sea. One cannot but wonder at the similar imageries.

Journal of The Oriental Institute, Vol. LI, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 2001 pp. 15-18.

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1. Pilgrim, G.E., "The Siwalik River", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XV (New Series), 1919, pp. 81-99.

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Though the Vedas are fundamentally religious texts, their contents are supposed to encrust a core of history. The number of allusions to Sarasvatī in the *Ṛgveda* far outnumber those to other rivers, a fact that corroborates the all important position assigned to her in the Vedic pantheon. For instance, in the *Ṛgveda* she is praised as the Mother among rivers, the Goddess Sarasvatī - "*Ambitame Nadītame Devītame Sarasvatī*"[2]. Sarasvatī was also revered as Haraohati in the parallel culture that sprouted in Iran under the stewardship of Zarathustra. The precincts of Sarasvatī were home to a large population belonging to an avowedly pastoral society given to religious persuasions. The *Manusaṁhitā* describes the land between Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī, created by the gods as "the land of brahmins".[3] But, before the end of the early Vedic period, the Sarasvatī began to ebb away from public consciousness and in the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* we come across a blatant reference to her disappearance[4]. Simultaneously, the Ganges and Northern plains began to figure prominently. Text books have taken this to mean the expansion of Aryan race in India. Speaking of which, the eminent historian Romila Thapar writes "the Sarasvatī disappeared into the desert in North Eastern Rajasthan and the Sutlej and the Yamuna seem to have changed course. Such major changes would certainly have affected settlement and migration and this may in part explain a movement into the Doab."[5]

Remote sensing and imaging through satellite have opened new avenues in getting down to the bottom of many mysteries dogging Palaeo-Geography. The American satellite Landsat has successfully zeroxed in on the lost course of an ancient river in Rajasthan, presumed to be the Sarasvatī. The location more or less agrees

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2. Frawley David, *Gods, Sages and Kings*, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 1993, pp. 70-372.
3. *Ibid*, p. 71.
4. Majumdar, R.C., *The Vedic Age : The History and Culture of The Indian People*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Mumbai, 1988, p. 266.
5. Thapar Romila, (Edr.) *Recent Perspectives of Early Indian History*, Popular Prakashan, Mumbai, 1998, pp. 92.

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with its textually determined orientation, exemplifying the niceties achieved in the art of historical prediction; a feature not often encountered in subjective disciplines like History but is common in Science where a theory is reinforced or destroyed by empirical findings.

Scientific investigations carried out by various organisations, particularly the Central Arid Zone Research Institute, Jodhpur and BARC (Mumbai) have been instrumental in unearthing the presence of a water table beneath the arid and inhospitable terrain of the Thar desert. What is surprising about the subterranean source is its apparent constancy. Apart from this, the topsoil in the vicinity is rich in minerals and plant nutrients. Scientists are more or less certain that the site marks the fount of the departed river.

Much evidence[6] has been gathered on the Sarasvatī in recent years. Though today she is identified with a non-descript rivulet like the Ghaggar, she seems to have been massive, upto five miles across in her heyday, flowing through Hanumangarh in Rajasthan to Marot in Pakistan as divulged by satellite photography. The river seems to have changed course atleast four times in her lifespan, each time shifting to a more westerly alignment. The Post Graduate Research Institute, Deccan College (Pune), has worked out the changing routes of the river in detail. About 4000BC, Sarasvatī in her original course emanating from the Himalayas lay in a South-west direction passing through Mathura and Pañchabhadra to the mouth of the Kutch. With the climate turning drier, the flow shifted between Sirsa and Nohar through Bikaner. The next shift occurred with the flow through Rangmahal, also in Rajasthan. In the tertiary stage she wended her way through Jaikkal and Hanumangarh during the Indus civilization and in the fourth and final stage she flowed, westbound from Amargarh to merge with the Indus, thereby losing her independent identity.

6. Frawley David, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 355.

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There is also some evidence[7] to show that even the Yamunā and the Sutlej once drained into the Sarasvatī, before the Yamunā started flowing East into the Ganges as it does today. Likewise the Sutlej changed its direction westward into the Indus through the Ravi instead of flowing southward into the Sarasvatī. Additionally, some of the many Indus sites such as Lothal, Kalibangan, further interior from the Indus river, stood on the Sarasvatī and drew sustenance from her, which would explain the secret of their existence far removed as they were from the heart of the Indus Valley. A 3500 km. land survey conducted in 1985 by Dr. V. S. Wakankar from Adibadri to Somnath has also yielded over 150 sites on the river.

In view of the above, one can form a good idea of the importance of Sarasvatī in the Vedic mileau. The search for Sarasvatī is of paramount importance because once her actuality and location are irrefutably determined, it will help to place the ancient history of India on a firm footing.

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7. *Ibid*, p. 356.

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COMMON ELEMENTS OF THERAVĀDA AND MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM IN *SUHṚLLEKHA* OF ĀCĀRYA NĀGĀRJUNA

BIMALENDRA KUMAR*

The *Suhṛllekha* of *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna is a concise and comprehensive summary of the teachings of the Buddha. It enjoyed widespread popularity that it was rendered into Tibetan and it was used by the Tibetans as a basic manual for teaching Buddhist *Dharma.* Though it contains elements, which belong specifically to the *Mahāyāna,* much of its content comprises a common foundation which both *Theravāda* and *Mahāyāna* share. The texts of both the tradition i.e. *Theravāda* and *Mahāyāna* were studied independently of each other. We come to take a note of the fact that there were many common elements in them. Most of the terms mentioned in the *Suhṛllekha* are found in the *Theravāda* texts. The main terms are available, namely, six *Anusmṛtis,* Ten *Kuśalakarmapatha,* six *Pāramitās,* the eight *Lokadharmas,* four *Brahmavihāras,* four *Dhyānas,* the five *Indriyas* or *Bala,* seven *Boddhayaṅga, Pratītyasamutpāda,* eight fold path, four noble truth etc. which have been mentioned by *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna in *Suhṛllekha.* In this paper, there is an humble attempt to throw light on the common elements of *Theravāda* and *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, based upon *Suhṛllekha* of *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna.

Suhṛllekha starts with an invocation to cultivate faith in that which is pre-eminent and exalted such as *Buddha, Dharma* and *Saṅgha. Ācārya* Nāgārjuna gave spiritual instructions on the principles of Buddhist doctrines describing the greatness and qualities of six remembrances or recollections (*anusmṛti*) - *Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha,* generosity (*dāna*), morality (*śīla*) and the qualities of the *devas (devatā).*

Journal of The Oriental Institute, Vol. LI, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 2001 pp. 19-28.

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He gave teachings on the six remembrances, first because the six remembrances make the mind pure and act as a source of great merit. *Anusmṛti* functions as a form of *smṛti*. It accomplishes the same ends, produces the same effects as other forms of *smṛti*. The great commentator *Ācārya* Buddhaghoṣa classifies the recollections (Pali : anussatis) among the forty meditative subjects (*Kammaṭṭhāna*) that lead to *samādhi*. He says that these recollections result in the arising of the *jhāna* factors in a single moment and in the attainment of the level of *samādhi*, designated as *upacāra-jhāna*. The Pali *Nikāyas* also state that the recollections produce wisdom and *nirvāṇa*.[1] The *Aṅguttara-nikāya* contains a short *sutta* in which Buddha teaches that the recollection leads to wisdom and *nirvāṇa*. The *Mahānāmasutta* presents the description of this meditation, which is repeated in numerous *suttas*. The *Theravāda* tradition preserves two versions of the *anusmṛti* practice, one comprising six objects of meditation and the other ten. It seems that six recollections constitute earlier or primary form of this practice as the six recollections occur often in the *suttas* as bases of recollections (*anussatitthāna*)[2], whereas the list of ten recollections is much less frequent. *Ācārya* Buddhaghoṣa divides these ten recollections into two groups - the group of six recollections and the group of four other recollections in the chapters seventh and eight of his *magnum opus* work *Visuddhimagga*. *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna has also said in the *Suhṛllekha* -

> "You should bring the mind the six things of remembrance : the Buddha, Dhamma, Saṅgha, Generosity, Morality and Gods; the heap of qualities of each of these six recollections was well taught by the conqueror."[3]

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1. *Mahānāmasutta* in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Vol. III (Ed.) Bhikshu Jagdish Kashyap, Nalanda, 1960, pp. 7-8.
2. *Ibid*, p. 7.
3. "*Jinairbuddhadharmasaṅgha-śīlatyāgadevādiṣaḍanusmṛtayaḥ* |
Pradarśitāstu tadguṇasambhāraiḥ pṛthaganusmaraṇīyāścha" II- *Suhṛllekha* and it's Commentary (Ed.), Pema Tenzin, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, Varanasi, 2002, verse No. 1.

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After possessing an attitude of sincere faith towards these objects - six recollections, one should exert oneself through performances of virtues. One must abstain from the ten non-virtuous actions of body, speech and mind and excel in virtuous deeds. One should purify the actions of the three doors. In *Dhammapada* it is said - "not to do what is immoral, to do what is moral and purify the consciousness from pollution"-

> *"Sabba pāpassa akaraṇaṃ, kusalassa upasaṁpadā,*
> *sacittapariyodapanaṃ etaṃ Buddhāna sāsanaṃ"*[4]

Ācārya Nāgārjuna says that one should observe generosity of wealth and property, which will bring great fruits in future life. One should recognize the wealth as ephemeral and insubstantial, and through this ideal one should exert oneself properly in generosity etc. towards monks, Brahmins, poor and friends : as for the future, there is no better friend than giving. Morality must be practised together with generosity. Therefore, he advises to observe perfect morality and explains morality as the foundation of all qualities, just as the earth is the support of both animate and inanimate things.

After the initial purification, through practising the ten virtuous deeds, generosity and morality, one begins training - oneself in the six perfections (*pāramitās*) of the *Mahāyāna* path. *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna says -

> "Increase the measureless perfection of giving, morality, patience, energy, concentration, and wisdom, and thus become the Lord of conquerors who has reached the further shore of the ocean of existence".[5]

These six perfections or *pāramitās* are also available in the *Jātakas* in which they have been practised as human values.

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4. *Dhammapada,* (Ed.) Sanghasen Singh, Delhi University, Delhi, 1977, verse No. 183.
5. *Suhṛllekha*, verse No. 8.

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In the second chapter of *Suhṛllekha*, there are instructions mainly for the householders. In any family, reverence to parents will be attended by *Brāhmaṇas* and reverence to spiritual teachers will receive blessings from the gods and thereby they will be benefited by good reputation. Thereafter, *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna explains the benefits of observing *uposatha*.

In the *Theravāda* tradition, we also find that on the *uposatha* day, householders observe eight moral precepts. Further, the nine *maṅgalaś*, as recorded in the *Maṅgalasutta*, and the instructions given in the *Vasalasutta, Parābhavasutta, Sigālovādasutta* are the basic ethical norms for the householders. In the *Sigālovādasutta*, the Buddha is seen giving sermons to *Sigāla*, basically connected with the household life as a whole.[6]

Mindfulness is the root of all virtuous deeds. Therefore, the Buddha has declared that mindfulness is the way out of immortality as it leads the mind to virtuous deeds and guards it from impurities and heedlessness is the way of death, which leads to experiencing the misery of birth and death in cyclic existence. *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna says that one should increase one's virtue, devotedly remain heedful. This view is also available in the *Dhammapada* as -

"Appamādo amatapadaṃ pamādo maccuno padaṃ,
appamattā na mīyanti ye pamattā yathā matā.
etam visesato ñātvā appamādamhi paṇḍitā,
appamāde pamodanti ariyānaṃ gocare ratā ".[7]

When many undesirable things befall on householders, they often get angry; to detach them from such reaching, *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna says-

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6. *Dīghanikāya*, Vol. III (Ed.) Bhikshu J. Kashyap, Nalanda, 1958, pp. 139-148.
7. *Dhammapada*, verse No. 21.

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"Since there is no penance like patience, you must give anger no opportunity to arise. The Buddha said that by giving up anger, one will attain the irreversible stage".[8]

In the *Dhammapada*, we also find the same idea-

"*khanti paramaṃ tapo titikkhā,*
nibbānaṃ paramaṃ vadanti Buddhā."
"*na hi verena verāni sammantīdha kudācanaṃ,*
averena ca sammanti; esa dhammo sanātano ".[9]

Further in the sixteenth verse of *Suhṛllekha*, Ācārya Nāgārjuna says that-

"I was abused by these people, bound by them, defeated by them, they have snatched away my property; thus harbouring enmity produces quarrels, but one who gives up harbouring enmity sleeps happily".

The fourth verse of *Dhammapada*, has also the same views-

"*akkocchi maṃ avadhi maṃ ajini mam ahāsi me,*
ye taṁ na upanayhanti veraṃ tesūpasammati ".[10]

Ācārya Nāgārjuna has also asked both monks and laymen to follow the *dharma* resulting in heaven and liberation. He says that-

"Always meditate rightly on the love, compassion, joy and equanimity; even if the supreme (state) is not gained, in this way, still the happiness of the world of *Brahmā* will be attained".[11]

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8. *Suhṛllekha*, Verse No. 15.
9. *Dhammapada*, Verse Nos. 184 & 5.
10. *Ibid*, Verse No. 4.
11. *Suhṛllekha*, Verse No. 40.

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In the *Visuddhimagga*, *Ācārya* Buddhaghoṣa has discussed these four illimitable *(appamaññā)* while explaining objects of meditation (*kammaṭṭhāna*). The four illimitables are so named because the range of their practice is not limited. They can be extended over the infinite number of beings in all directions.[12] *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna says that practice of these four immeasurables enables one to attain the four concentrations that enable one to attain the same fortune as *Brahma, Ābhāsvara, Śubha-Kṛtsṇa* and *Vṛhat-phala* deities.[13] Further Nāgārjuna asks monks and laymen that-

> "Assiduously perform the five most excellent practices-faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration and wisdom. These are called strength, power and also the attained summit".[14]

The same view has also been explained by *Ācārya* Nāgasena in the text *Milindapañho.* There is a practice of five-fold controlling factors (*pañcindriya-bhāvanā*), namely, *Saddhindriya, Vīriyindriya, Satindriya, Samādhindriya* and *Paññindriya.* These five factors appear in the list of *Bodhipakkhiyadhammā* twice as controlling factors (*indriyas*) and again as powers (*bala*). They function in controlling the mind and directing it to the right direction in making a smooth way-faring, beginning from the moment of practice till realization of *nibbāna.* They also function as power in exercising predominant influence on mind in a particular state.

In the fifth chapter, having contemplated the virtues of liberation in order to accomplish the path, the *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna explains seven limbs of *Bodhi*, union of calm abiding and insight, realization of dependent origination, practice of eightfold paths, practice of four noble truths etc. These are the virtuous merits to attain *Nirvāṇa*, therefore, one has to practise all these in order to attain Liberation. Due

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12. *Mettā karunā muditā upekkhāti ime cattāro brahmavihārā - Visuddhimagga,* p. 75.
13. *Suhṛllekha,* Verse No. 41.
14. *Ibid,* Verse No. 45.

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to lack of wisdom that gives the perfect knowledge of particularity and generality of *dharmas*, concentration does not arise, because wisdom eliminates the doubt in the objective knowledge and helps to concentrate the mind on the object. Again due to the lack of concentration, complete and perfect wisdom does not arise. Wisdom arises only when the mind is in a state of concentration. Therefore, the union of calm-abiding (*śamatha*) and special insight (*vipaśyanā*) is necessary.

Ācārya Nāgārjuna says in the text of *Suhṛllekha* that -

"Through morality, wisdom and concentration gain the peaceful, subdued and untainted state of Nirvāṇa which is ageless, deathless, inexhaustible and devoid of earth, water, fire, air, sun and moon".[15]

Further, he says that -

"These seven limbs of enlightenment - mindfulness, discrimination of things, energy, joy, tranquillity, concentration, and equanimity - are the accumulation of virtue which is the cause of obtaining Nirvāṇa".[16]

Regarding the seven factors of enlightenment, it is said in the *Dhammapada* :

"*yesaṃ sambodhiaṅgesu sammā cittaṃ subhāvitaṃ /*
ādānapaṭinissagge anupādāya ye ratā /
khiṇāsavā jutimanto te loke parinibbutā //"[17]

In *Theravāda* tradition also, the Dhammika path has three gradual steps - *śīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā*, which are the three essentials of entire physio-psychic and

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15. *Ibid*, Verse No. 105.
16. *Ibid*, Verse No. 106.
17. *Dhammapada*, Verse No. 89.

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spiritual life of Buddhist tradition.[18] Each one is helpful to one another and serves as a background. It means *śīla* is for *samādhi, samādhi* is for *prajñā* and that also culminates in realization of *nibbāna.* That is :

śīla-paribhāvitā samādhi mahāpphalo hoti, mahānisamso, samādhi-paribhāvitā paññā mahāpphalā hoti, mahānisamsā, paññā paribhāvitam cittam sammadeva āsavehi vimuccati.[19]

Giving much importance to these three, the Buddha says :

"sīle patiṭṭhāya naro sa pañño, cittaṃ paññam ca bhāvayaṃ
ātāpī nipako bhikkhu, so imaṃ vijaṭaye jaṭaṃ"[20]

Ācārya Nāgārjuna says that -

"Always be disciplined in the highest morality, highest wisdom and highest trance; more than one hundred and fifty disciplines are verily included within these three".[21]

In the *Dhammapda*, it is said that -

"There is no concentration for him who lacks wisdom, nor is there any wisdom for him who lacks concentration. The one, who has both concentration and wisdom, is indeed close to *nirvāṇa*".[22]

Ācārya Nāgārjuna also supports this in the *Suhṛllekha* as -

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18. *Dīghanikāya*, Vol. II p. 95.
19. *Ibid*, p. 78.
20. *Saṃyuttanikāya*, Vol. I, (Ed.) Bhikshu J. Kashyap, Nalanda, 1959, p. 14.
21. *Suhṛllekha*, verse No. 53.
22. *"n' atthi jhānam apaññassa, paññā n' atthi ajjhāyato,*
yamhi jhānaṃ ca paññā ca, sa ve nibbānasantike". Dhammapada, Verse No. 372.

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"Without wisdom there is no concentration, and again, without concentration there is no wisdom; but for one who has these two, the ocean of existence is made to be like (the water in) a cow's hoof-print".[23]

Ācārya Nāgārjuna has given much importance to the law of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) in the *Suhṛllekha*. He says that -

"This doctrine of interdependent origination is the profound and precious treasure of the teaching of the Conqueror - one who rightly sees this sees the most excellent Buddha, the knower of Reality".[24]

In *Theravāda* tradition also it is said that -

"*yo paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passati, so dhammaṃ passati. Yo dhammaṃ passati, so paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passati*"[25]

Ācārya Nāgārjuna has given emphasis on the mind. Mind, according to Buddhist tradition, is a fore-runner of all activities. *Ācārya* Nāgārjuna says :

"The blessed one said that the mind is the root of virtue, so discipline your mind; this is beneficial and useful advice, so what need to say more".[26]

The Buddha has also declared that -

"*Cittena niyati loko, cittena parikassati,*
Cittassa ekadhammassa sabbeva vasamanvagu ti, "[27]

Further it is said that -

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23. "*Prajñābhāve dhyānam dhyānābhāve api na jāyati sā prajñā ,*
Yatrobhi vidyati jñeyastasya bhavasāgaro goṣpadavat". *Suhṛllekha*, verse No. 107.
24. *Ibid*, verse No. 112.
25. *Majjhimanikāya*, Vol. I, published by Vipassanā Research Institute, Igatpuri, 1995, p. 251.
26. *Ibid*, verse No. 117.
27. *Saṁyuttanikāya*, *op. cit.* p. 37.

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"It is good to subdue one's mind. Through subducing the mind one attains happiness" -

"*Cittassa damatho sādhu cittaṃ dantaṃ sukhāvahaṃ* "[28]

The above-mentioned facts are just pieces of evidence that the contents of the *Suhṛllekha* belong specially to the *Mahāyāna* philosophy but much of its content comprises a common foundation which both *Theravāda* and *Mahāyāna* traditions share. In other words, we can also say that comparison of *Suhṛllekha* with parallel passages in the *Dhammapada* and in the early Buddhist texts is quite helpful in clarifying the meanings of terms and phrases. So, studies of early Buddhism or *Mādhyamika* thought in the broadest sense will lead to the clarification of various aspects of Indian religions, culture and philosophy.

28. *Dhammapada*, Verse No. 35.

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RECONSTRUCTION OF VYĀḌI'S THEORY OF WORD AND MEANING

BHAGYALATA PATASKAR*

Vyāḍi was an ancient grammarian and he is believed to be contemporary of Pāṇini and to have written very scholarly huge volume on Sanskrit grammar named *Saṁgraha.* It is believed to have consisted of one hundred thousand verses.[1]

The work is not available at present. But references to Vyāḍi or his work are found in *Prātiśākhya* works, *Mahābhāṣya, Vārttikas, Vākyapadīya* and many subsequent treatises. I have collected 22 references from various texts and tried to reconstruct his theory about the relationship between word and meaning.

A work on *Vyākaraṇaparibhāṣā* is believed to have been written by Vyāḍi. The work is available by the name '*Paribhāṣāsūcana.*' Most of the scholars believe that this work from its style and peculiarities seems to have been written after *Vārttikas,* but before the *Mahābhāṣya.* I have not taken into consideration this work while discussing the said theory.

Let me clarify it first that Vyāḍi has used two different words, namely, *pada* and *śabda* while discussing their relationship with meaning. For meaning also he uses two different words in two different contexts viz. *artha* and *abhidheya.* It is very difficult to exactly translate all these words in English. What I could do is just describe these term, as follows :

Journal of The Oriental Institute, Vol. LI, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 2001 pp. 29-36.

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1. संग्रहो व्याडिकृतो लक्षसंख्यो ग्रन्थः । उद्योत of नागेश. इह पुरा पाणिनीयेऽस्मिन् व्याकरणे व्याड्युपरचितं लक्षग्रन्थपरिमाणं निबन्धनम् आसीत् । वाक्यपदीयवृत्तिः ।
   Abhyankar K. V., *A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar,* G.O.S.No. 134, Baroda, Revised Edition 1977, Page 378, under word Vyāḍi.

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Pada can mean one of the linguistic elements, which is used in the sentence or which forms the sentence, i.e. a finite term.

Pāṇini has also used these two different words, in two different contexts. The *śabda* has larger semantic field. The *śabda* can be *pada*, can be sentence or can be speech or can be language.

The word *artha* is used in connection with *śabda*, whereas the word *abhidheya* is used in connection with *pada*. Hence the word *abhidheya* can be translated as meaning denoted by the word, whereas the word *artha* can be translated as the sense.

Patañjali mentions in the *Mahābhāṣya* that whether the word is *nitya* or *kārya* is examined in the *Saṁgraha*.[2] Further he mentions that in the *Saṁgraha*, the word *siddha* is assumed as an opposite of *kārya*.[3] However, we do not know the exact context of the word *siddha* in the *Saṁgraha*. If at all it is to be accepted from Patañjali's discussion, then this much we can say that Vyāḍi might have assumed the relationship between word and meaning as *siddha* i.e. established or natural one, and not at all artificial.

The same idea is expressed in the following verse :

संबन्धस्य न कर्तास्ति शब्दानां लोकवेदयोः ।
शब्दैरेव हि शब्दानां संबन्धः स्यात् कृतः कथम् ॥[4]

Vyāḍi here does not mention other relatum. The commentators assume the same as *artha*, which seems quite acceptable. He here totally denies the creator of

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2. संग्रहे एतत्प्राधान्येन परीक्षितम् । नित्यो वा स्यात् कार्यो वा । Shastri P.P., *The Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya*, Part I- *Āhnika*, 1st to 4th, Page 34, Madras (Chennai).

3. संग्रहे तावत्कार्यप्रतिद्वन्द्विभावान्मन्यामहे नित्यपर्यायवाचिनो ग्रहणमिति । *Ibid*, 1. 37.

4. Tr.-Neither in the Vedas nor in the world there is any creator of the relationship of words (with meaning). How can the relationship be formed of words with words ?
(The verse in the *vṛtti* on the 42nd verse of the *Vākyapadīya*).

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the relationship between word and meaning. He states that there is no creator of the relationship because basically the relationship itself does not exist at all. He says so because he has one philosophical assumption in his mind which he has put elsewhere -

शब्दार्थयोरसंभेदे व्यवहारे पृथक् क्रिया ।
यतः शब्दार्थयोस्तत्त्वमेकं तत्समवस्थितम् ॥[5]

According to him, there is only one principle in *śabda* and *artha.* This fact is established. (*samavasthitam*)

Vyāḍi means to say that the relationship in fact does not at all exist, but, we perceive it because of our way of understanding the things and talking about it. Therefore, if any relationship is to be assumed, it should be assumed as the *siddha* i.e. established one.

Vyāḍi has used the words *kṛtaḥ* and *samavasthitam* very significantly. With both of these verses he wants to highlight the same point that the relationship between the word and the meaning is intimate so much so that originally it does not exist, it is only when we talk of it, we have to talk about it in terms of duality.

The word *asambheda* in this verse is interpreted in two different ways by two different commentators of the *Vākyapadīya.* According to the *Paddhati*, it means -

शब्दार्थौ एकस्माद् ब्रह्मणः परमार्थतोऽसंभिन्नौ अभिन्नौ इव ।

(Word and meaning are identical with the supreme reality). According to the *Ambākartrī*, it is exactly opposite i.e. शब्दार्थयोः असंभेदे विभागे कल्प्यमाने - the distinction is to be imagined between word and meaning then only the diversity in the usage can be established.

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5. While *śabda* and *artha* are identical, the separation is in the course of behaviour, because, there is only one and only one substance existing in a *śabda* and *artha.* (*ibid*).

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The verse can also be interpreted as follows - even the word and meaning are integrated, we find the separation between them in the usage.

In brief, he assumes only one substance/one principle in word and meaning, they are *asambhinna* 'not distinct'. In fact, there is nothing to be described as relationship, what we describe is '*vyavahāra*' i.e. our way of speaking.

Another important thing is whatever we comprehend as the relationship between word and meaning, is, not at all artificial or created afterwords, it is the established one.

In the following two verses, Vyāḍi has distinguished three linguistic entities, viz. *pada, rūpa* and *artha.*

न हि किञ्चित् पदं नाम रूपेण नियतं क्वचित् ।
पदानां रूपमर्थो वा वाक्यार्थादेव जायते ॥
अर्थात् पदं साभिधेयम् पदाद् वाक्यार्थनिर्णयः ।
पदसंघातजं वाक्यं वर्णसंघातजं पदम् ॥[6]

The important point here is that it is the *vākyārtha* - meaning of the sentence as a whole, because of which the meaning of the *pada*, not *śabda* is created. Further he says that the meaning-conveying capacity of the *pada* is due to the meaning associated with it.

What is significant here is Vyāḍi clearly distinguishes *pada* from *śabda* in the context of the relationship with meaning. The *śabda* seems to have wider semantic field than that of the *pada.* It is well known now that *śabda* also means 'language' and *pada* means 'linguistic element' which can be translated as 'word'.

Relationship between *pada* and *artha* depends on the context, needless to say that it is not fixed, whereas relationship between *śabda* and *artha* is natural.

6. Tr.-No *pada* is there which is anywhere restricted by the form. Either the meaning as well as the form of the *pada* arises through the sense of the sentence. The *pada* is significant due to the meaning (it bears). The determination of the sense of the sentence depends upon the *pada.* The sentence comes out of the conglomeration of the *padas*, and the *pada* comes out of the conglomeration of the syllables.

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The *vṛtti* on the verse द्वावुपादानशब्देषु शब्दौ शब्दविदो विदुः । 1.44 mentions discussions of Vyāḍi on the word *upādāna.*[7] By saying that एवं हि संग्रहे पठ्यते । which is as follows : वाचकः उपादानः स्वरूपवानव्युत्पत्तिपक्षे । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे त्वर्थविहितं समाश्रितं निमित्तं शब्दव्युत्पत्तिकर्मणि प्रयोजकम् । उपादानो द्योतक इत्येके । सोऽयमिति व्यपदेशेन संबन्धोपयोगस्य शक्यत्वात् ।

One more aspect, namely, the functional aspect of it is revealed here by saying that the relationship between word and meaning is *vācyavācaka* or the u*pādeyopādāna.* The term is conveyer and the meaning is conveyed. As it is mentioned by Vyāḍi, there are two different views, namely, analytic and synthetic, explaining how a form conveys meaning. However, both of them maintain the same opinion about the relationship between word and meaning, the difference is in the interpretation.

According to the *avyutpattipakṣa* the whole word as it is conveys the meaning, whereas, according to the *vyutpattipakṣa*, the stem suffix analysis of the word basically contributes to convey the meaning.

According to the passage, where we find this discussion, we come to know that Vyāḍi interprets the word *vācaka* as *upādāna* whereas others do as *dyotaka.*

Thus, according to Vyāḍi, the word (i.e. *pada*) bears and therefore conveys the meaning. I think this can be the functional outcome of the philosophical assumption about the *siddha* relationship between *śabda* and *artha.*

More details are mentioned about this relationship in the following passage quoted in the *vṛtti* on the 65th verse of the first *kāṇḍa* - न हि स्वरूपं शब्दानां गोपिण्डादिवत् करणे संनिविशते । तत्तु नित्यमभिधेयमेवाभिधानसंनिवेशे सति तुल्यरूपत्वादसंनिविष्टमपि समुच्चार्यमाणत्वेन अवसीयते ।[8]

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7. *Vācaka*, according to *Avyutpattipakṣa*, means *upādāna* i.e. that which bears, carries, having the 'referent'. According to the *Vyutpattipakṣa*, the mark residing in the meaning (of the word) causes the derivational activity of the word. According to others, *upādāna* means *dyotaka* i.e. 'manifesting' or 'illuminating', because the implementation of the relationship (between word and meaning) becomes possible with the representation that 'that is he'.

8. The object of the words, does not enter into the instrument (of the utterance) like the figure of cow (does not enter into the utterance of the word cow '*go*'). The *abhidheya* word while closely connected with the *abhidhāna* word, and due to the identical form, is determined as being articulated even though it does not enter into (the pronunciation).

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Three terms mentioned here are very important from view point of the word-meaning relationship, which are *svarūpam, abhidheya* and *abhidhāna.*

The word under discussion is *gośabda,* '*gopiṇḍa*' = 'figure of a cow' is *svarūpa* of the *gośabda.* Needless to say that the *svarūpam* here means an 'object', 'referent' of the word. The Paddhati very aptly interprets it as *pratyāyya.* There is one more term which is *karaṇa* of the word, i.e. instruments of an articulation viz. points and efforts of an articulation. The point stated here is that when we utter the word, immediately after that we understand the meaning of the word. However, the meaning i.e. the object/referent of the word never enters into the instrument of the word. Thus *karaṇa* functions as an instrument in conveying the referent. Same is the relationship between *abhidheya* and *abhidhāna* words. *Abhidhāna* word functions as an instrument in manifesting *abhidheya* word, and this *abhidheya* word further bears meaning. But the *abhidhāna* word and the *abhidheya* word are identical so much so that we cannot distinguish them, and think that we utter the *abhidheya* word i.e. meaning-bearing word.

According to Vyāḍi's theory, there is a link between the word uttered and meaning conveyed. The link is the *abhidheya* word which is very identical (*tulyarūpa*) with the word uttered and directly bears the meaning.

The most important point about the word-meaning relationship, entered here is though there is *upādeyopādāna* relationship, still it is not direct. The utterance of the word gives rise to some other word which actually bears meaning, but, we misunderstand that the meaning is borne by the word uttered.

Vyāḍi is the first grammarian propounding the theory about cognition of the meaning. He assumed *prākṛta* and *vaikṛta dhvani,* which can be translated as primary and secondary sound respectively. The primary sound causes the comprehension of the *śabda.* The secondary sound causes distinction in duration (*sthitibheda*) of the

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śabda. It should be noticed that Vyāḍi uses the word *śabda* only and not *sphoṭa.* The verse is -

शब्दस्य ग्रहणे हेतुः प्राकृतः ध्वनिरिष्यते ।
स्थितिभेदे निमित्तत्वं वैकृतः प्रतिपद्यते ॥[9]

We do not know the actual context of this verse. The *vṛtti* quotes it while discussing the point of the manifestation of the *sphoṭa.*

The very title *Saṁgraha,* I think, highlights the subject-matter of the work, which might be 'proper comprehension of the word, viz : *samyak grahaḥ saṁgrahaḥ*'.

Śrīdeva in his *Syādvādaratnākara* quotes Vyāḍi by saying '*yadāha saṁgrahakāraḥ*', but, we find both of these verses incorporated in the body of the *Vākyapadīya,* in the Critical Edition of the text. The verses are -

असतश्चान्तराले यान् शब्दानस्तीति मन्यते
प्रतिपत्तुरशक्तिः सा ग्रहणोपाय एव सः ॥
यथाद्यसंख्याग्रहणमुपायः प्रतिपत्तये ।
संख्यान्तराणां भेदेऽपि तथा शब्दान्तरश्रुतिः ॥

At this stage of my knowledge, since I cannot decide the authorship of these verses, I keep them aside.

Now regarding the meaning of the word -

Vyāḍi is well known to have been the oldest exponent of the doctrine that words denote 'an individual' object and not genus. This opinion is referred to by Kātyāyana in one of his *Vārttikas* on p. 1.2.64. Kātyāyana says *Dravyābhidhānam Vyāḍiḥ.*

What I find here noteworthy is the terminology used, viz. : *dravya* and *abhidhāna* and not *vyakti* and *vācaka.*

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9. The primary sound is supposed to be cause of the comprehension of the *śabda,* whereas, the secondary sound causes the difference in duration.

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According to Vyāḍi, the words denote *dravya* i.e. neither *kriyā* action, nor *guṇa* - quality. There are words in which we perceive action (e.g. *pacati, yajati*) or quality (*pācaka, yājaka*) or genus. But even on hearing these words, we do not perceive this much only. According to Vyāḍi, we cognise this accompanied or resorted to *dravya*. Any how we cognise *dravya* and in addition to that we cognise either quality or action or genus. Bhojadeva in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* refers to such opinion of Vyāḍi. However, we do not find enough reference to this theory.

In brief, while discussing the word-meaning relationship, Vyāḍi has used the following terminology - *śabda, artha, pada, abhidheya, abhidhāna* and *dravya*. To fix the meaning of these words, we have to take into consideration the pre-Vyāḍi literature.

Concerning the philosophical aspect of the grammar, there is one and the same principle in the *śabda* and the *artha*. Hence due to the absence of two relates the relationship does not exist at all. It is only in our way of speaking that distinguishes these two activities.

The relation between *śabda* and *artha* i.e. language and sense is already established and not at all created by anybody.

The relation between *pada* and *abhidheya* depends on the context, obviously it is not fixed.

According to Vyāḍi, what we utter is *abhidhāna* word, which gives rise to the *abhidheya* word, which in fact bears the meaning. It is the identical form of the *abhidheya* and the *abhidhāna* words that misleads us to think that what we utter is *abhidheya* word.

According to Vyāḍi, meaning of the word is *dravya*, i.e. individual object.

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USAGES OF BHAṬṬI QUOTED BUT UNACKNOWLEDGED BY PURUṢOTTAMA

NILANJANA S. SHAH*

Puruṣottama, the eminent Bengali Grammarian who belonged to the Eastern School of Sanskrit Grammarians, flourished in the 12th century C.E. He is the author of some of the very noteworthy works, such as the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti*, the *Laghu-paribhāṣā-vṛtti*, the *Jñāpaka-samuccaya*, the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* and others. Among them the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* and the *Laghu-paribhāṣā-vṛtti* are well-known to the scholars and students of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature.

The *Bhāṣā-vṛtti*[1] is Puruṣottama's commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and it is a good guide for the students who have just started the study of Pāṇinian Sanskrit Grammar. As the verse[2] at the end of the work clearly spells out the main purpose of this work, it is to initiate students of traditional Sanskrit Grammar and encourage them to undertake the study of tougher works like the *Kāśikā* and the *Bhāga-vṛtti*. Consequently, in his *Bhāṣā-vṛtti*, Puruṣottama has endeavoured to explain the aphorisms of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by giving illustrative examples from well-known works of Classical Sanskrit Literature, the *Rāvaṇa-vadham alias Bhaṭṭi-kāvyam* (BK) of Bhaṭṭi being one of such works, most suited for the task at hand. He avoids the advanced task of discussing in detail the grammatical form concerned and when it is totally unavoidable in the case of some particular Sanskrit Grammatical usages, he discusses it as briefly as possible.

Journal of The Oriental Institute, Vol. LI, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 2001 pp. 37- 45.

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1. *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* by Puruṣottamadeva, Ed. Dwarkadas Shastri, Pub. Ratna Publications, Varanasi, (1st Edn.), 1971.

2. *Kāśikā-bhāgavṛttyoś cet siddhāntaṁ boddhum asti dhīḥ* |
Tadā vicintyatāṁ bhrātar bhāṣā-vṛttiriyaṁ mama || (p. 522).

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Bhaṭṭi, the poet-author of the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvyam*, hailed from Gujarat in the 6th century C.E. The *Bhaṭṭi-kāvyam* is a Classical Sanskrit epic seeking, on the one hand, to illustrate the applications of the aphorisms of certain selected portions of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, while, on the other hand, it narrates simultaneously the biography of the famous hero Rāma of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the course of my research for my doctoral dissertation on the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvyam*, I developed special interest in the Sanskrit Grammatical usages in the work. During my studies as I undertook the task of tracing the usages illustrated by Bhaṭṭi to their original source works, I happened to come across the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* of Puruṣottama in which sixteen (16) usages were mentioned as drawn from the epic of Bhaṭṭi. But to my utter surprise, I found other one hundred sixty (160) usages that were quoted by Puruṣottama but were not acknowledged as being drawn from this work of Bhaṭṭi.

Now, among these usages quoted by Bhaṭṭi, complete verses[3] are only four, some others are of one full line, while in most other cases a small part of the verse is given and that small portion is such that at times it is very difficult to identify it from the BK. It may be noted that he has merely quoted, but mostly not discussed them from the grammatical point of view and only three usages are discussed,[4] but very briefly.

The attention of the Indologists has not been drawn till now to these 160 usages quoted without mentioning the name of the BK. I have listed them at the end of my book and traced their exact location in the BK. I have given the full list of 176 usages, along with the 152 relevant Pāṇinian *Sūtras*, in this article also.

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3. BK. 6. 21; 7. 5; 8. 107; 19.17.

4. *Prāk kekayito bharatas tato bhūt* / (BK., 1.4; Bh. Vṛ. p. 208) illustrating *Prācya-bhargādi...* (Pā. Aṣṭ, 4.1.178)/; *Pariṣadvalān mahā-brahmaiḥ* (BK., 4.12; Bh. Vṛ. p. 297) illustrating *Rajaḥ kṛṣyāsutipariṣado valac* (Pā. Aṣṭ. 5.2.112); *Pṛtanāṣāḍ dviṣo dhūrṣu* (BK., 9.67, Bh. Vṛ. p. 503) illustrating *saheḥ sāḍaḥ saḥ* (Pā. Aṣṭ. 8.3.56).

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Till recently, it was a general impression among scholars of traditional Sanskrit Grammar that it was only the commentators like Jumaranandī, Gopīcandra and others, of the *Saṁkṣipta-sāra* of Kramadīśvara who have illustrated the *sūtras* of Sanskrit Grammar by quoting about 175 usages from the BK.

The authenticity or otherwise of the unusual and difficult usages of the BK from the point of view of the Pāṇinian Grammar has been discussed in the works like the *Bhāga-vṛtti*, the *Durghaṭa-vṛtti*, the *Dhātu-pradīpa*, the *Kṣīra-taraṅgiṇī*, the *Mādhavīyā-dhātu-vṛt i*, the works on *Paribhāṣā*, the works of *Prakriyā*, the *Śabda-kaustubha*, the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* etc.[5] But among all these, it is only Puruṣottama who has quoted so many usages from the BK to illustrate the Pāṇinian *sūtras*. It is specially worth-noting that Puruṣottama has chosen to rely to the maximum extent on the BK for his illustrative quotations explaining the Pāṇinian *sūtras*, in comparison to other works, like those of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha etc. Thus, the important and unique place of the BK in the world of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature gets boosted further.

Sūtra No.	*Sūtra*	*Usage in BK*	*Sarga & Śloka No.*
१-२-२	विज इट् ।	नायमुद्विजितुं कालः ।	७.९
१-२-५	असंयोगाल्लिट० ।	बलिर्बबन्धे जलधिर्ममन्थे ।	२.३९
१-२-१५	यमो गन्धने ।	नोपायध्वं भयं सीताम् ।	७.१९१
१-२-१६	विभाषोपयमने ।	उपायंस्त महास्त्राणि ।	१५.२१
,,	,,	सौमित्रे मामुपायंस्थाः ।	४.२०
१-३-५६	उपाद्यमःस्वकरणे	उपायंस्त महास्त्राणि ।	१५.२१
,,	,,	उपायंसत नासवम् ।	८.३३
१-३-६१	म्रियतेर्लुङ्० ।	मम्रे पतङ्गवद् वीरैः ।	१४.४२
१-४-२९	आख्यातोपयोगे	रामादधीतसन्देशः	८.७२

5. For details, refer to *Sanskrit Vyākaraṇa-śāstranā Grantho-māṁ Maḷatā Bhaṭṭi-kāvya-nā Prayogo* (Guj.), Pub. Sanskrit Sahitya Academy, Gandhinagar, 2003.

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Sūtra No.	*Sūtra*	*Usage in BK*	*Sarga & Śloka No.*
१-४-३२	कर्मणाऽयमभिप्रैति० ।	भयानि दत्त सीतायै ।	८.६६
१-४-३४	श्लाघह्नुङ्० ।	श्लाघमानः परस्त्रीभ्यः ।	८.७३
१-४-३९	राधीक्ष्योर्यस्य० ।	ईक्षितव्यं परस्त्रीभ्यः ।	८.७६ भट्टिः
१-४-५१	अकथितञ्च ।	एवं याचमानः शिवं सुरान् ।	६.८
		सोऽपृच्छल्लक्ष्मणं सीताम् ।	६.८
१-४-५२	गतिबुद्धि प्रत्यवसान० ।	रावणं गमय प्रीतिम् ।	८.८२
१-४-७७	नित्यं हस्ते० ।	तां हस्तेकृत्य माश्वसीः ।	५.१६
१-४-९६	अपिपदार्थसम्भावना० ।	अपि स्थाणुं जयेद् रामः ।	८.९१
२-१-२४	द्वितीयाश्रिता० ।	द्विषद्वीर्यं निराकरिष्णुः ।	५.१
२-१-२६	खट्वा क्षेपे० ।	खट्वारूढः प्रमादवान् ।	५.१०
२-१-६२	वृन्दारकनाग० ।	योषिद्वृन्दारिका ।	५.१८
२-१-७२	मयूरव्यंसका० ।	राघवः प्रोष्यपापीयान् ।	५.९१
२-२-१६	कर्त्तरि च ।	राममहितः ।	१०.२
२-२-३६	निष्ठा ।	सुरापीतो नृजग्धः ।	५.३८
२-३-४	अन्तरान्तरेण० ।	वैदेहीमन्तरा क्रुद्धः ।	८.९४
२-३-२९	अन्यारादि० ।	उत्तराहि समुद्रात् ।	८.१०७
२-३-४४	प्रसितोत्सुका० ।	भवत्यामुत्सुको रामः ।	८.११६
२-३-५२	अधीगर्थदये० ।	रामस्य दयमानोऽसौ ।	८.११९
२-३-५७	व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः ।	प्राणानामपणिष्टासौ ।	८.१२१
२-३-५८	दिवस्तदर्थस्य ।	अदेवीद्वन्धुभोगानाम् ।	८.१२२
२-३-६५	कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति ।	धायैरामोदमुत्तमम् ।	६.७९ भट्टिः
२-३-६९	न लोकाव्यय० ।	रक्षोगणं क्षिप्नुः ।	२.२१
,,	,,	कार्यं कारुः ।	७.२८
२-४-५१	णौ च संश्चङोः ।	अध्यापिपद् गाधिसुतो यथावत् ।	२.२१
२-४-७४	यङोऽचि च ।	तेजांसि शंशमाञ्चक्रुः ।	१४.६७ भट्टिः
३-१-२२	धातोरेकाचोः० ।	किमभीरुरार्य्यसे ।	४.२१
,,	,,	अटाट्यमानो अरण्यानीम् ।	४.२

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Sūtra No.	*Sūtra*	*Usage in BK*	*Sarga & Śloka No.*
३-१-२४	लुपसदचरः ।	तस्याः सासद्यमानायाः ।	४.३१
३-१-२७	कण्ड्वादिभ्यो० ।	वल्गूयन्तीं विलोक्य० ।	५.७३
,,	,,	महीय्यमाना भवतातिमात्रम् ।	२.३८
,,	,,	हृणीयते वीरवती न भूमिः ।	२.३८
३-१-३५	कास्प्रत्ययादा० ।	कासाञ्चक्रे पुरीं सौधैः ।	८.४८
३-१-३७	दयायासश्च ।	दयाञ्चक्रे न राक्षसः ।	५.१०६
३-१-३८	उषविदजागृभ्यो० ।	ओषाञ्चकार कामाग्निः ।	६.१
३-१-४५	शल इगुपधाद० ।	मा घुषः पत्युरात्मानम् ।	६.१६
३-१-५४	आत्मनेपदेष्व० ।	इह सा व्यलिपद्....ज्जलैः ।	
		इहाहं द्रष्टु...मुमोह सः ॥	६.२१
,,	,,	तस्यालिपत शोकाग्निः ।	६.२२
,,	,,	स्नानभ्यषिचताऽम्भोऽसौ ।	६.२३
,,	,,	तथाऽभ्यषिक्त वारीणि ।	६.२३
,,	,,	आह्वास्त स मुहुः शूरान्० ।	६.२५
,,	,,	अलिप्तेवानिलः शीतः ।	६.२२
३-१-५६	सर्त्तिशास्त्य० ।	समारन्त ममाभीष्टाः ।	८.१६
३-१-६१	दीपजनबुध० ।	क्रुद्धोऽदीपि रघुव्याघ्रः ।	६.४२
३-१-१०१	अवद्यपण्य० ।	सुग्रीवो नाम वर्योऽसौ० ।	६.५१
३-१-१०५	अजर्यं सङ्गतम् ।	तेन सङ्गतमार्येण रामाजर्यं कुरुद्रुतम् ।	६.५३
३-१-१०६	वदः सुपि क्यप् च ।	अनृतोद्यं न तत्राऽस्ति० ।	६.५४
,,	,,	सत्यवद्यो रघूत्तमः ।	५.६०
३-१-१०८	हनस्त च ।	मित्रभूयं गतस्तस्य रिपुहत्यां करिष्यसि ।	६.५४
३-१-१३७	पाघ्राध्माधेड्दृशः ।	आजिघ्रैः पुष्पगन्धानाम् ।	६.७७
३-१-१४१	श्याद्व्यधास्रुसं० ।	दह्येऽहं मधुनो लेहैः ।	६.८२
३-२-२	ह्वावामश्च ।	व्योममायमिवोत्थितम् ।	६.८७
३-२-२०	कृञो हेतुताच्छील्य० ।	पितुर्वाक्यकरं रामम् ।	५.८८
३-२-२३	न शब्दश्लोक० ।	शब्दकारः पपात खम् ।	५.१००
३-२-३०	नाडीमुष्टयोश्च ।	नाडिन्धमान् मार्गान् ।	६.९४

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Sūtra No.	*Sūtra*	*Usage in BK*	*Sarga & Śloka No.*
३-२-३३	परिमाणे पचः ।	पान्तावल्पम्पचान् मुनीन् ।	६.९६
३-२-३७	उग्रम्पश्येरम्मद० ।	उग्रम्पश्येन सुग्रीवस्तेन भ्रात्रा निराकृतः ।	६.१००
३-२-४५	आशिते भुवः० ।	फलैर्येश्वाषितम्भवम् ।	५.११
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३-२-९६	सहे च ।	राजकृत्वा पिता न ते ।	६.१३०
,,	,,	सहयुध्वानमन्येन ।	६.१३०
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,,	,,	न्यक्षिपच्चाङ्गदम् ।	६.१३७ भट्टिः
३-२-११३	न यदि ।	सम्भविष्याव एकस्याम-	
	,,	भिजानासि मातरि ।	६.१३८
	,,	अवसाम नगेन्द्रेषु यत् ।	६.१३८
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JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

THE M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA
BARODA

Editor : Mukund Lalji Wadekar

The Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, is a Quarterly, published in the months of September, December, March and June every year.

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Subscription Rates : Annual : (From Vol. 40 onwards)

Inland Rs. 60.00 (Post-free)

Europe £ 10.00 (Post-free)

U.S.A. $ 20.00 (Post-free)

Subscription is always payable in advance. The yearly subscription is accepted from September to August every year. No subscription will be accepted for less than a year.

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SOME ASPECTS OF LOGICAL GRAMMAR

RABINDRA KUMAR PANDA*

1. Introduction

Though the term "Logical Grammar" (*Nyāyaśāstrīya-Vyākaraṇa*) is not a newly coined one and is not something very foreign to the students of Indian Philosophy still it is not so familiar to them. A student of Nyāya and Grammar may be well aware of this concept but a general student either of Sanskrit or philosophy is definitely going to be confused because it is not so far explicated in the manner it should be. In the field of modern studies on Navyanyāya, the term "Logical Grammar" is frequently met with especially in the books of modern writers writing in English. It creates a lot of confusion. What does it exactly mean ? Why do the modern scholars of Nyāya make use of this term and for what purpose ? All these questions need some answers. So this paper is prepared to clarify all these doubts and along with it to bring to light some of the important aspects of this sub-system of Grammar which is an emerging and interesting field of study in Navyanyāya.

"Logical Grammar" is a Western concept. The term came to be used first in the literature of Western Philosophy. From that field it came to Navyanyāya like many other foreign things coming to India and getting accepted wholeheartedly. Perhaps for the first time, Wittgenstein has employed this term and explained the role of "Logical Grammar". He was of the view that there is something common to all natural languages and the accidental features always obscure the essential features

Journal of The Oriental Institute, Vol. LI, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 2001 pp. 47-64.

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of natural languages. The task of "Logical Grammar" is to bring out the real logical form of a sentence and to show the essential element of the sentence or proposition in the process of logical analysis. So the "Logical Grammar" is a very useful tool for a logical analysis of language. Since, in the process of logical analysis, language plays a major role, there is a need of linguistic analysis and also the need of bringing out that essential feature prior to the logical analysis. As a successor of him, Bertrand Russell too accepted this goal of "Logical Grammar". He further opined that if somebody attempts to bring out a real logical form from a sentence or proposition, he has to make a kind of reductive analysis of language as a first step to this goal. He should try to reduce all compound propositions to combinations of elementary propositions. Then he can ascertain the real logical form of a sentence. A classical example of differentiating the real logical form from the apparent logical form is found in Russell's analysis of sentences with definite descriptions. The success of this analysis depends on the idea that there is something essential to language, namely, the logical element that makes all propositions either true or false.

But, the problem is that the assertions regarding the essentials of language are varied. The features that are commonly presented as essentials, are the subject-predicate analysis of a proposition, the noun-phrase and verb-phrase structure of a sentence, a logical form of a proposition and a valid inference. "Logical Grammar" is directly addressed to the study of the logical form of the proposition. The logical form of a proposition determines the logical form of an inference and the validity of the inference. To say in other words, "Logical Grammar" mainly deals with the logical form of an inference, which brings some specific cognition.

As I know, in the field of modern studies on Navyanyāya, Professor B.K. Matilal has employed this term for the first time and for that component of Navyanyāya, which contains the discussions on the grammatical concepts and issues in his two books - *Logic, Language and Reality* and *Epistemology, Logic and Grammar in Indian Philosophical Analysis*. He brought to light many pertinent aspects of this so-

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called "Logical Grammar" of the Naiyāyikas. Later on, Professor Sivajivan Bhattacharya, Professor Saileswara Sen, Professor V.N. Jha, Professor J. N. Mohanty, Professor V.P. Bhatt *et al.* worked in this fertile field and contributed richly to the area of Navyanyāya. Nevertheless some clarifications are necessary and some confusions are to be eradicated. The present paper aims at fulfilling this objective.

2. Origin and Development of Logical Grammar

In India the philosophers of the Nyāya system have attempted from the very beginning to develop an alternative system of Grammar keeping in view their logical philosophy. The rudiments of this system are found in the aphorisms of Gautama, commentaries of Vātsyāyana, Uddyotakara, Vācaspati Miśra and Viśvanātha. Some of the grammatical issues were taken up by them and very well answered. It is a part of their epistemology and logical philosophy. We, therefore, can be sure that the grammatical issues had exerted considerable influence on the analysis of philosophical problems in India and the Naiyāyikas have seriously reflected upon them. As a result, today we have sufficient material to construct a systematic body of thought. And that is also a need of the hour. In fact the Naiyāyikas have given us a methodology to understand the grammatical concepts. And they have really created a scope for having a dialogue on the issues relating to philosophical semantics and grammatical understanding of language. Since language plays a vital role in containing the logical truths, our primary requirement is to analyse the structures of language because the structure of scientific language is different from that of ordinary language.

It is well-known that the problems of Nyāya logic are intimately related to Sanskrit grammatical concepts and theories. As the logical procedure of analysis consists of words and sentences, the ideas of the grammarians are noticed by the Naiyāyikas who were disagreed with them on some issues. From the twelfth century onwards the Navyanyāya writers, through a critical analysis of Sanskrit language,

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have attempted to construct an alternative system of grammatical categories. The main reason is that the issues concerning language do occupy a prominent place in Nyāya philosophy. It is conspicuous when epistemological discussions on the means of knowledge especially "*śabdapramāṇa*" are carried on. Having accepted the means of knowledge as a basis for any philosophical discussion, the logicians have raised some interesting issues concerning the function of language and its meaning. Naturally the grammatical categories like *pada, kāraka, samāsa, dhātu* etc. are defined more competently by the modern logicians in the process of their logical analysis. There is no need of emphasizing the fact that the Nyāya philosophy of language forms an important part of Indian epistemology. However, the problems of analysis of sentences and words, the relationship between words and their meanings, classification of words, philosophical significance of grammatical analysis etc. have been discussed over the centuries. The importance of language lies in the fact that language is a vehicle of thought which gets expressed in the form of ideas through language. Language is not an accidental accretion to thought but forms its very essence. Bhartṛhari, the great grammarian-philosopher asserts that there cannot be any cognition without the operation of words and all cognition is shot through and through by the word. All knowledge is illumined through the word.

We know that Grammar deals with the syntax, semantics and phonetics of a natural language. Such Grammars are called First order Grammars or language Grammars like Nesfield's English Grammar. Alternately it may be called a Linguist's Grammar, e.g. Taxonomic Grammar or a Philosophical Grammar. Principles in these grammars are solely related to observations of linguistic data for the correct use of language. A set of rules given to form an infinite data provides an understanding of the connections between lexicon and grammatical categories, e.g. noun, verb, adverb, preposition etc. and the grammatical relations by stating the relevant grammatical rules.

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The rise of Navyanyāya brought about a significant change in the analysis of language. Epistemology and Logic got incorporated into the analysis of sentence-comprehension. The Nyāya system introduced a logical procedure for the analysis of word and meaning. But Naiyāyika's analysis of grammatical categories focussed mainly on the epistemological and logical function of the same. The neo-logicians attempted the work of classification and analysis of the various parts of speech, i.e. grammatical categories such as noun, verb, *kāraka, vibhakti,* etc.

A considerable portion of Navyanyāya philosophy under the section of word and word-meaning is concerned with the problems of Grammar. This portion of the Nyāya dealing with grammatical categories such as word, inflected word, sentence, sentence-meaning etc. may be called some aspects of "Logical Grammar". Prof. B.K. Matilal rightly observes :

"The task of this 'Logical Grammar' is to classify the significant parts of sentences and to discover rules which determine the notion of a "meaningful sentence" through an analysis of the Sanskrit language which construct an alternative system of grammatical categories. The modern logicians noticed the theories of the grammarians, examined them critically and developed it. They disagreed with the grammarians on many issues, classified the significant parts of sentences and discovered some rules, which determine the notion of a meaningful sentence. Though concerned only with the peculiarities of the Sanskrit language, still, for Sanskritists, however, they offered an alternative approach to Sanskrit grammar and semantics."[1]

But, it is to be noted that the "Logical Grammar" of Naiyāyikas is not like the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. It is not a grammar (*Śabdānuśāsana*), which gives principles for learning a language and knowing the proper use of words. It is a sub-system of grammar in the sense that it helps in understanding the grammatical concepts. So it

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1. Matilal, B.K., *Logic, Language and Reality*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1985, p. 39.

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is a conceptual grammar or a philosophical grammar. Since the branch, we are concerned with, has been developed by the logicians, it is entitled "Logical Grammar".

3. The Main Contributors

The advent of Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya of Mithila and his outstanding work *Tattvacintāmaṇi* heralds a new era in the field of epistemology and linguistics. Jagadīśa Bhaṭṭācārya and Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya are two prominent figures who have in fact greatly enriched this alternative system by making significant contributions. Jagadīśa's text *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā* (SSP)[2] deals with some prominent aspects of "Logical Grammar". His account in this work contains much materials which, although have some limitations, may be taken as an alternative approach to Sanskrit Grammar. The peculiarities marked by him and aptly used in logical analysis fall into two major categories, namely, "Logical Grammar" and "Philosophical semantics". We give here a short list of the main contributors and their works. A student may make use of them for further study. Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya's *Vyutpattivāda*, Raghunātha Śiromaṇi's *Ākhyātavāda* and Raghudeva Bhaṭṭācārya's *ṭīkā* on it, Giridhara Upādhyāya's *Vibhaktyarthanirṇaya*, Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa's *Kārakacakraṃ*, M.M. Gokulanātha Upādhyāya's *Padavākyaratnākara*, Dharmadatta Jha's (*alias* Bacca Jha's) advanced note on *Śaktivāda* of Gadādhara and *Gūḍhārthatattvāloka* on Gadādhara's *Vyutpattivāda*, many commentaries, sub-commentaries which contain subtle ideas and observations and some short dialectical digests are the main sources of this sub-system.

4. The Interrelation of Grammar

The interrelation of Grammar and logic has provided a peculiar process to assess an expression and to derive its meaningfulness from both epistemological and linguistic perspectives. The problem, however, was connected with the notion of

2. Bhaṭṭācārya, Jagadīśa, *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā* (SSP), Ed. by Śāstrī, Ḍhuṇḍhirāja, The Kasi Sanskrit Series 109, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1973.

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word and word-unity and sentence and sentence-unity. It is interesting to say that the logical way of thinking as well as the diverse points raised by logicians against Grammarians while defining grammatical categories suit to their procedure of logical analysis. For instance, the Grammarians attempted to define the notion of a sentence on formal criterion without referring to the meaning-content of the same whereas the logicians bring in the semantic notion of a sentence. Pāṇini defined *pada* as that which has either a verbal inflection or a nominal inflection. But, Gautama defined it as *te vibhaktyantā padam* (*Nyāyasūtra*, II 2.57).[3] The new logicians further modified it and said that *śaktam padam*. Thus, in many cases the formal definitions are obtained from Grammarians while the logicians suggest the use of semantic criteria to determine the real import.

The knowledge of the sentence-meaning is derived from the meaningful words. A meaningful word is that which generates in the hearer the cognition of that what is meant only in collaboration with another syntactically related word or words. Similarly a meaningful sentence is a cluster of syntactically connected words that have a combined meaning of which a part must be an inflectional meaning. According to Jagadīśa, an incomplete compound word like *śaśaviṣāṇa* is a significant word, in as much as it can generate a false cognition of the horns being related to some rabbit. Since, only with the help of some inflection, such a compound will be of use in language, we cannot however, call this compound - base a sentence as the combined meaning will not have any inflectional meaning on its part.

5. Logical Way of Sentence-comprehension

Indian theoreticians in the school of Navyanyāya, Navyavyākaraṇa and Mīmāṁsā, have developed a sophisticated device to explore the verbal knowledge

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3. यथादर्शनं विकृता वर्णा विभक्त्यन्ताः पदसंज्ञा भवन्ति ।
विभक्तिर्द्वयी नामिक्याख्यातिकी च, ब्राह्मणः पचतीत्युदाहरणम् ॥ *Nyāyabhāṣya* on *Nyāyasūtra*, II.2.57.

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from the syntax through semantics for the unambiguous representation of knowledge and that is known as *śābdabodha.* The theory of *śābdabodha* presents a scheme for knowledge - acquisition from the hearer who listens to a well-formed sentence. The verbal knowledge - acquisition from a sentence depends upon its structure, which involves syntax and semantics. The theory of *śābdabodha* is a theory of what relational structure is known when one knows something on the basis of hearing a sentence being uttered. Hence *śābdabodha* is a linguistic understanding. It is also accepted as a separate *pramā* or valid knowledge. The term is explained as *śabdajanyam śābdam, śabdaścāsau bodhaśca śābdabodhaḥ* i.e. the knowledge which is generated by the causal factor called *śabda* is called *śābdabodha.* Here the word *śabda* does not mean a word, but it has a technical sense i.e. *śabda* means a proposition or a sentence. (*Āptavākyam śabdaḥ*)

The minimum scheme to yield *śābdabodha* is : 1. Knowledge of the *pada* (the meaningful phonetic unit or grammatical elements like *prātipadika, dhātu, pratyaya* etc.) which is treated as the most efficient causal factor (*karaṇa*) to produce *śābdabodha.* 2. Knowledge of the word-meaning (*padārtha*, referent or import of the word) which is treated as the intermediatory function (*dvāra*) to generate *śābdabodha.* 3. The knowledge of the relation between the *pada* and *padārtha* known as *śakti* which is considered to be the auxiliary cause of *śābdabodha.*

6. Model of *Śābdabodha* According to Navyanyāya

Caitraḥ grāmam gacchati, Caitra goes to the village.

The *Śābdabodha* of this sentence is as follows :

Ekatvāvacchinna-grāmaniṣṭha-saṁyogānukūla-vyāpārānukūla-kṛtimān caitraḥ, i.e. Caitra who is qualified by efforts that are conducive to the substratum of which the object is the village and which is qualified by oneness.

Some diagrams are given below for explaining the process of *śābdabodha* :

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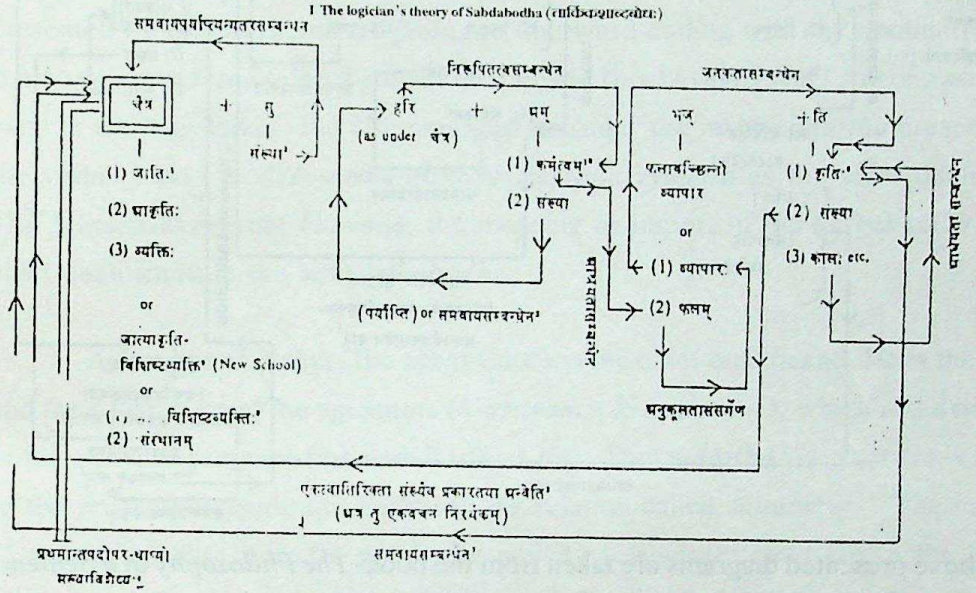
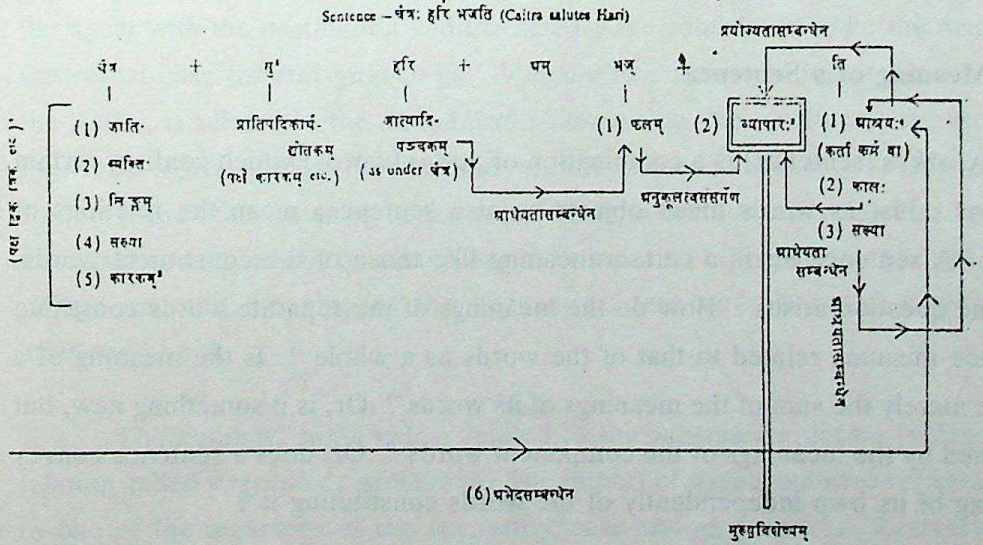
I The logician's theory of Sabdabodha (शाब्दिकानां शाब्दबोधः)



II The Vyākarana Theory of Sabdabodha (The Grammarian's Verbal Import)

Sentence – चैत्रः हरिं भजति (Caitra salutes Hari)



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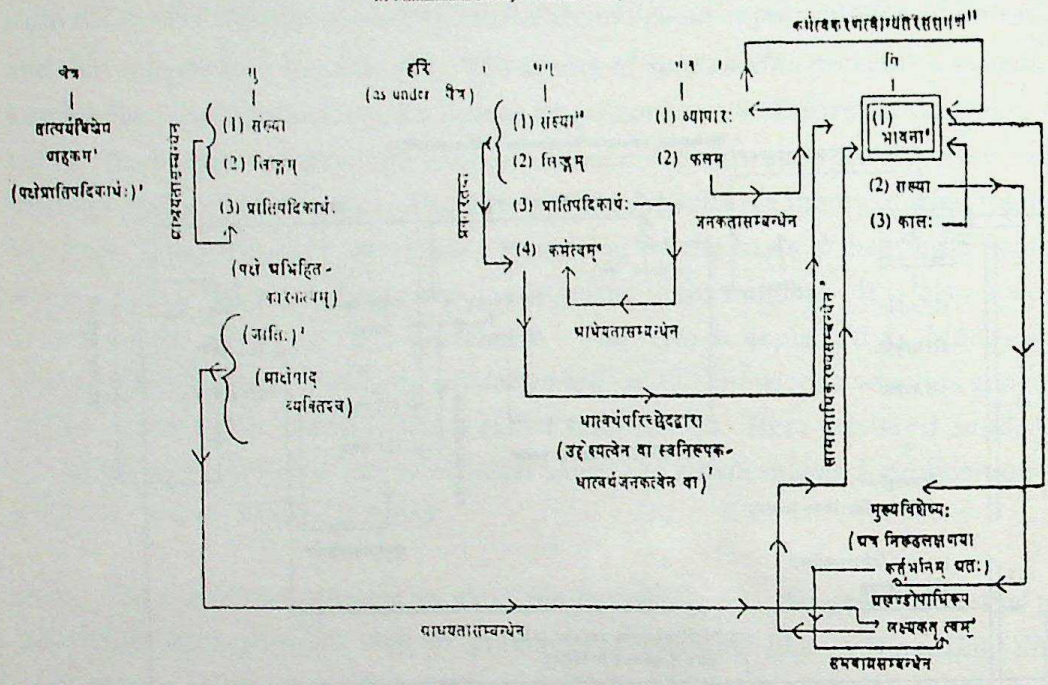
III Mimāmsaka Theory of Sabdabodha (मीमांसकशब्दबोधः)



[The above presented diagrams are taken from the book- *The Philosophy of a Sentence and Its Parts* of Veluri Subha Roa, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1969, p. 185.]

7. Meaning of a Sentence

A *vākya* (sentence) is a combination of *padas* (words) which confirm certain conditions. Just as words mean objects so also sentences mean the relations of objects. A sentence bears a certain meaning like those of the constituent words. Hence the question arises : How do the meanings of the separate words constitute a sentence-meaning related to that of the words as a whole ? Is the meaning of a sentence merely the sum of the meanings of its words ? Or, is it something new, but determined by the meanings of the component words ? Or, does a sentence convey a meaning of its own independently of the words constituting it ?

In the sentence the meanings of the words (*padārthas*) remain with their relations and that is said to be qulifier-qualificand type or attributive-substantive

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type. It means, in the knowledge comprehended from a sentence, the Indian theoreticians focus only on one *padārtha* which is treated as the chief qualificand of which all other *padārthas* are qualifiers. In the school of Navyanyāya, the *padārthas* presented by the *prathamānta-pada*, i.e. the word ending with the nominative case is always considered to be the chief qualificand (*mukhyaviśeṣya*). In contrast to this view of the Naiyāyikas, the Grammarians consider the main *padārtha* presented by the verbal base i.e. *dhātvarthamukhyaviśeṣyaka-vyāpāra* as the chief qualificand. The Mīmāṁsakas treat *bhāvanā*, the meaning or import of the verbal suffix as the chief qualificand in the *vākyārthabodha.*

According to Nyāya, the agent Caitra is the chief qualificand. He is the agent, and the substratum of the agentness (*kartṛtvam = kṛtimatvam*), which is the meaning of the *ākhyāta-pratyaya* (the verbal suffix) *tiṅ*. The *padārtha* viz. *kartṛtva* is related to the *prathamāntārtha* i.e. Caitra by the relation called *samavāya.* The meaning of the verbal base *gam* (to go) is the activity (*vyāpāra*) conducive to the contact (*saṁyoga*) of the agent with the destination. The result (*phala*) viz., the contact of the agent with the destination and the activity are considered to be the meanings of the verbal base (*dhātu*)-*gam*-to go. *Vyāpāra* (the activity), one of the meanings of the *dhātu*, is related to the *ākhyātārtha-kartṛtva* i.e. the agentness, the meaning of the verbal suffix by the relation called *anukūlatā* (conduciveness). *Saṁyoga* i.e. the contact is the other meaning of the verbal base *gam* and that is related to *vyāpāra* by the relation viz., *janyatā* or *anukūlatā.* The meaning of the substantive *grāma* is the village and the meaning of the accusative case ending-*am* is *karmatva* and *ekatvasaṁkhyā.*

The number, *saṁkhyā*, is related to the substantive *grāma* (village) by the relation called *paryāpti* or *samavāya.* The import of the substantive village is related to one of the meanings of the accusative case-ending (*-am*) i.e. *karmatva* by the relation called *ādheyatā* (substrateness). The *karmatva* is related to one of the meanings of the *dhātu* viz. *saṁyoga* (contact) by the relation *-āśraya* (locusness).

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Thus, finally we get the *śābdabodha* as : *ekatvāvacchinna-grāmaniṣṭha-saṁyogānukūla-vyāpārānukūla-kṛtimān caitraḥ*; i.e. Caitra, who is qualified by the volitional effort that is conducive to the object the substratum which is the village and that is qualified by oneness.

Some other models of *śābdabodha* are as follows :

Dravya-guṇa-karma-sāmānya-viśeṣa-samavāya-abhāvāḥ sapta padārthāḥ । The literal meaning of this sentence is clear. Substance, quality, action, generality, speciality, inherent relation and absence are seven categories. However, when the *śābdabodha* has to be stated, the exact meaning of each expression and its relation with the other constitutents of the sentence will have to be specified. It is as follows :

Dravyatvādeḥ lakṣaṇayā dravyatvādyanyatamavantaḥ ityarthaḥ । Teṣām abhedasambandhena padārtheṣvanvayaḥ । saptapadasya lakṣaṇayā sapta-vibhājakopādhyanyatamavanta ityarthaḥ । Teṣām abhedasambandhena padārtheṣvanvayaḥ । Tathā ca dravyatvādyanyatamavad abhinnaḥ saptavibhājakopādhyanyatamavad abhinnaḥ padārthaḥ ।

Here, the word *dravya* is taken to mean *dravyatvavat.* Since the word *dravyaguṇa*.....etc. is a *dvandva* compound, each of the terms and their meanings has equal importance. Hence the meaning of the compound is taken to be *dravyatvādyanyatamavantaḥ*, when two nouns are used in opposition, their relation has to be *abheda* (identity) according to the dictum *nāmārthayorabhedasambandhenānvayaḥ* ।

Similarly, we will see *Śābdabodha* of another sentence :

Atha padārthān vibhajate ।

According to the *śābdabodha* method, the meanings of the key words are first elucidated as follows :

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Athetyasya uddeśaviṣayapadārtha-sāmānyalakṣaṇa-jñānāntaram ityarthaḥ The word '*Atha*' means after obtaining the knowledge of the means i.e. common or general definition of *padārtha.*

Vipūrvakabhajdhātoḥ uddeśyatāvacchedaka-sākṣādvyāpyaparaspara-viruddhayāvaddharmaprakārakajñānajanaka-śabdaprayoga ityarthaḥ.

The meaning of the root *bhaj* preceded by the prefix - *vi* produces knowledge in the hearer in which all the *dharmas,* which are mutually exclusive and which are directly pervaded by the *uddeśyatāvacchedaka,* are related.

Following is the total *śābdabodha* :

Padārthasāmānyalakṣaṇajñānānantaramāśrayapadārthaniṣṭha-viśeṣyatānirūpaka-uddeśyatāvacchedaka-sākṣādvyāpyaparasparaviruddhayā-vaddharma-prakāraka-jñānajanakaśābdaprayogānukūla-kṛtyāśrayaḥ granthakartā.

Here, the relation of *nirūpya* and *nirūpaka* is pivotal. *Uddeśya* and *uddeśyatā* are inter-related. So also are *Adhikaraṇatā* and *Ādheyatā.* These concepts cannot be understood independent of each other. Hence, it is said :
Ādheyatā adhikaraṇatayā nirūpitā, adhikaraṇatā ādheyatayā nirūpitā adhikaraṇatayā ādheyatā nirūpitā, ādheyatayā adhikaraṇatā nirūpitā etc. Without a proper command on *nirūpyanirūpakabhāva,* it is impossible to state the *śābdabodha* of any sentence. Similarly, *Anuyogipratiyogibhāva* has to be understood in order to be able to analyse negative sentences, like *Bhūtale ghaṭābhāvaḥ* which means *bhutalānuyogika-ghaṭa-pratiyogikaḥ abhāvaḥ.*

8. Gaṅgeśa's Contribution

Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya in his *Tattvacintāmaṇi* has given much thought to the grammatical categories. He has defined some of them. According to him, a verbal

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suffix (*ākhyāta-tip, tas, jhi* (*anti*) etc.) used after a root, refers to the favourable to that what is signified by the root e.g. *Caitraḥ pacati* (Caitra cooks) signifies that Caitra is possessed of efforts favourable to cooking. If the agent is an inanimate thing, the verbal suffix refers by implication to the operation favourable to that what is signified by the root, e.g. *ratho gacchati* (a chariot moves) signifies that the chariot is possessed of the operation favourable to moving.[4]

The root (*dhātu*) of a verb refers to the operation favourable to the effect of that what is signified by the verb. For example, the root *gam* (to go) in the sentence - *sa grāmam gacchati* (he goes to the village) refers to moving, which is favourable to his connection with the village and which is the effect of his going. In the case of an intransitive verb, the root refers merely to the operation, e.g. *sa tiṣṭhati* (he stays) in which *sthā* signifies merely 'staying '.[5]

The prefix (*upasarga*) by itself does not bear any meaning but points out the speciality of meaning borne by the root that follows, e.g. *vi* in *vijayate* (completely conquers) signifies completeness of conquest.[6]

9. Jagadīśa's Special Contribution

Jagadīśa has classified the significant word-components into three types[7] : *Prakṛti* (inflectible word base), *Pratyaya* (inflections), and *Nipāta* (invariant words). The *prakṛti* is the word like *ghaṭa*. And the *pratyaya* is *su* and *tiṅ* etc.

Prakṛtis[8] are of two types : *nāma* (nominal base) and *dhātu* (verbal base). A nominal base like *ghaṭa* or a verbal base like *cal* can have an identity of reference

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4. Upādhyāya, Gaṅgeśa, *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, Part - I, Motilal Benarasidass, Delhi, 1974, p. 127.
5. *Ibid*, p. 134.
6. *Ibid*, p. 152.
7. शब्दान्तरमपेक्ष्यैव सार्थकः स्वार्थबोधकृत् ।
   प्रकृतिः प्रत्ययश्चैव निपातश्चेति स त्रिधा ॥ SPP. p. 29.
8. निरुक्ता प्रकृतिर्द्वैधा नाम धातुप्रभेदतः।
   यत् प्रातिपदिकं प्रोक्तं तन्नाम्नो नातिरिच्यते ॥ *Ibid.* p. 68.

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with another word-base like *nīla* respectively. A nominal base is called *prātipadika.*[9] A nominal base ends with the assistance of the nominative terminal inflection in order to generate a cognitive meaning with its own meaning as the chief assistant of an agent inflection *tṛc* in order to generate a cognitive meaning with its own meaning as the qualifier.

Nominal bases are divided into four[10] groups because of their semantic function. One is called *rūḍha*, the class of words that express only conventional meanings in a sentence. The word bases like *gau* in the sentence *gaur asti* falls under this class. The second group is called *Lakṣaka.* Words of this class convey metaphorical or secondary meanings in a sentence. Nominal bases like Gaṅgā in the sentence *Gaṅgāyām ghoṣaḥ* falls in this class because Gaṅgā conventionally means a particular river, while in this sentence, the same word implies the riverside. Jagadīśa says that the word presents a different meaning through implication where the implied meaning is clearly related to its primary meaning, not being confined to the intention of the speaker. In other words, the meaning which is not the primary meaning of a word but only closely connected with it, is the implied meaning of the said word. However, the word like *saindhava* does not yield the meaning of a horse through implication. According to Jagadīśa, *lakṣaka* has four types : *jahatsvārthā, a-jahatsvārthā, nirūḍhā and ādhunikā.*[11]

That which calls for the verbal knowledge of certain property not inherent in the expressed meaning oaf the word is called *jahatsvārthā.* The implication in the word *Gaṅgā* in the example *gaṅgāyām ghoṣaḥ* bears out the comprehension of *tīratva* that does not inhere in the river current of the *Gaṅgā*, the primary meaning of the

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9. यच्च पाणिनिप्रभृतिभिः प्रातिपदिकं प्रकृतिरित्युक्तं, तदपि नाम्नो नातिरिच्यते। *Ibid.*

10. रूढञ्च लक्षकञ्चैव योगरूढञ्च यौगिकम् ।
तच्चतुर्द्धा परै रूढयौगिकं मन्यतेऽधिकम् ॥ *Ibid.* p. 72.

11. जहत्स्वार्थाजहत्स्वार्थनिरूढाधुनिकादिकाः।
लक्षणा विविधास्ताभिर्लक्षकं स्यादनेकधा ॥ *Ibid.* p. 154.

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word envolved viz. *Gaṅgā* is *jahatsvārthā*. In some instances, the implication leads to the verbal knowledge of what is qualified by what abides both the expressed and the implied meaning. It is therefore known as *ajahatsvārthā*. An implication conventionally leading to the verbal knowledge of a property, embraced by convention as the determinant of the secondary meaning is known as *nirūḍhalakṣaṇā*. In *aruṇayā piṅgākṣyā gavā somam krīṇāti*, for example, the implication in the word, *aruṇā* conventionally leads to the verbal knowledge of a cow qualified by redness (*āruṇyaviśiṣṭā gauḥ*). Implication at times again bears out the verbal knowledge of an object, qualified by a property not conventionally embraced, as the determinant thereof is known as *ādhunikā lakṣaṇā*. The word, *paṭa*, for an example, may imply a pitcher, qualified by pothood.

The third group is called *Yogarūḍha*. Words of this class agree with the derivative sense i.e. with the combined meaning of the sub-component, but at the same time express, by convention, only special objects which may agree with the derivative sense.[12] A word like *Paṅkaja* should have expressed anything that is born in mud, but, conventionally its meaning is so fixed that it expresses only the lotus, which happens to be born in mud. The fourth group is called *Yaugika*. Words of this class retain their derivative senses i.e. agree fully with the combined meanings of their sub-components. Thus *Pāṭhaka* means anybody who reads.

Rūḍha-nāma is called a *Saṁjñā*. The nominal bases have denotative power. They are of three types viz.[13] *naimittikī saṁjñā* (the nominal bases) which pick out objects by attributing to them some generic character or the other like the word *gau*, *pāribhāṣikī saṁjñā* words are they which refer to objects by attributing some singular

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12. स्वान्तर्निविष्टशब्दार्थस्वार्थयोर्बोधकृन्मिथः।
योगरूढं न यत्रैकं विनाऽन्यस्यास्ति शाब्दधीः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 160.

13. रूढं सङ्केतवन्नाम सैव संज्ञेति कीर्त्यते ।
नैमित्तिकी पारिभाषिक्यौपाधिक्यपि तद्विदा ॥ *Ibid.* p. 76.

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property to them like the word *gagana*, *Aupādhikī-saṁjñā* words pick out objects by attributing some imposed condition like the word *dūta*.

Under *yaugika* words, Jagadīśa elaborately discusses various types of *samāsas*[14] (compounds), *kṛdantas* and *taddhitas*. The *nāma* words again are divided into three types : the masculine, the feminine and the neuter.[15] He refers to the grammatical theory that gender suffixes form an integral part of the nominal base.

Jagadīśa classifies the verbal bases into three kinds[16] : *gaṇokta* (those are enumerated in the list of roots given by the grammarians), *Yaugika*, those are formed from atomic roots and inflections, and the *sūtra* roots are those which are either mentioned in the grammatical rules of Pāṇini or current in language as roots but not listed. This third group evidently accounts for those roots, which are new roots like '*hindola, āndola*', etc. added to the lexicon as the language develops. He accepts the maxim that any root can have a multitude of meaning (*anekārthā hi dhātavaḥ*). But, one has to accept only one meaning, which is relevant in the context. According to Jagadīśa, inflections (*pratyayas*) are of four types : *Vibhakti* (terminal inflection), *dhātvaṁśa* (inflection that forms derivative roots from atomic roots, such as *san*), *taddhita* (inflections forming new nominal bases from nominal bases), and *kṛt* (inflections forming word-bases from roots). The meanings of inflections are, in general, related to the meanings of the word-bases, to which they are added, by the subject-predicate (*uddeśya-vidheya*) structure.

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14. योगलभ्यार्थमात्रस्य बोधकं नाम यौगिकम् ।
समासस्तद्धिताक्तं च कृदन्तञ्चेति तत्त्रिधा ॥ *Ibid.* p. 187.
15. स्त्रीलिङ्गमपि पुंलिङ्गं क्लीबलिङ्गमिति त्रिधा ।
शब्दसंस्कारसिद्ध्यर्थं भाषया नाम भिद्यते ॥ *Ibid.* p. 274.
16. मूलधातुर्गणोक्तोऽसौ सौत्रः सूत्रैकदर्शितः ।
योगलभ्यार्थको धातुः प्रत्ययान्तः प्रकीर्त्तितः ॥ Ibid. p. 281.

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In other words, the meaning of the word-base (such as, a pot) qualifies the meaning of the terminal inflection such as, the accusative relation. A *vibhakti* can be either a *sup* (which is added to a nominal base) or a *tiṅ* (which is added to a verbal base).[17] In this connection, Jagadīśa defines and describes in detail different case-relations as well as the semantic significance of each tense-suffix and mood-suffix.

10. Conclusion

From the above analysis, it is understood that some of the Naiyāyikas have seriously taken up the issues of grammar and have tried to define the grammatical terms from logical perspective. The definitions many times help us in understanding the true import of all those technical terms. The Naiyāyikas like Jagadīśa have presented their ideas in versified form and made them little poetic so that one can remember them very easily. He incorporated some liveliness in the dry skeleton of grammatical thoughts and made the subject interesting. Not only that he collected a huge number of data in the form of sentences and also examined them critically. That itself is a painstaking exercise, which illumines many new things. But it is interesting to note that the Naiyāyikas have also wholeheartedly accepted many viewpoints of grammarians and have also expressed freely their differences of opinion. Jagadīśa's classification is systematic and helpful for the description of the Sanskrit language. He tries scrupulously to define each concept so that each sub-class will be distinct and well-defined. He has logically defined the basic categories, which we generally grasp through intuitive notion. A detailed study on this theme is a desideratum and that will bring a clear picture. My attempt is just for introducing the subject.

17. संख्यात्वव्याप्यसामान्यैः शक्तिमान् प्रत्ययस्तु यः ।
सा विभक्तिर्द्विधा प्रोक्ता सुप्तिङ् चेति विभेदतः ॥ *Ibid.* p. 284.

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RAGHUDEVA BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA AND HIS UNKNOWN WORKS

SWETA PRAJAPATI*

Introduction

Among the great philosopher-jewels, who have made sublime contribution to extend the frontiers of Navya-Nyāya logic in India, Raghudeva's name can be taken with pride. But, like many unfortunate philosophers of India, Raghudeva is still awaiting someone who will realise the importance of his contribution and explore his Logico-philosophical ideas. Raghudeva can be considered as one of the major Navya-Nyāya writers, who had written more than 35 works, not a small number indeed. After collecting the manuscripts of some of his works, I got surprised and questions came to my mind : why such a prolific writer could not shine like his contemporaries and why did he remain unnoticed and unpopular ? It is simply his misfortune. Instead of pondering over the factors that were not conducive for the extension of his achievements, I make here a small attempt in providing some pertinent information which I could be able to collect with difficulty from the manuscript sources about Raghudeva's life, date, works and thoughts.

Personal Life :

About his personal life very few details are available. From his surname Bhaṭṭācārya we can confirm that he was a Bengali and flourished in Bengal. He was a disciple of Harirāma Bhaṭṭācārya Tarkavāgīśa (c. 1625 A.D.) and a contemporary of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya (c. 1650 A.D.), especially known for his *magnum opus*

Journal of The Oriental Institute, Vol. LI, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 2001 pp. 65-84.

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Vyutpattivāda. Thus it is clear that Raghudeva is the Navya-Nyāya dialectician of Post-Gaṅgeśa period. It is a fact that not a single work dealing with the History of Nyāya philosophy furnishes any information about his birth-place and names of his parents. Moreover, his own works also frustrate us in getting any clue. It is therefore presumed that he was not interested in noting down his biographical details in his works. But, fortunately his immense interest of noting about Harirāma as his teacher opens up the door to fix up the date and the place of Raghudeva. His frequent references to his great teacher Harirāma make us believe that Raghudeva was highly pleased with him and has expressed, therefore, his respectful tribute in many places as a token of his obligations.

Following textual evidences about Raghudeva's teacher are worth-noting :

(1) In the colophon of *Dravyasārasaṁgraha* he says :

इति महामहोपाध्यायश्रीहरिरामतर्कवागीशभट्टाचार्यशिष्यरघुदेवकृतद्रव्यसारसङ्ग्रहः ।[1]

(2) In the beginning of *Nañvādavivecana* he prays to his teacher :

शिवं प्रणम्य तत्पश्चात्तर्कवागीश्वरं गुरुम् ।
क्रियते रघुदेवेन नञर्थस्य विवेचनम् ॥[2]

Here, by the word *Tarkavāgīśvara* he refers to his teacher Harirāma.

(3) The colophon of *Sāmagrīvāda* also reads :

भट्टाचार्यधुरीणेन हरिरामेण धीमता ।
सामग्रीवादरचना कृता कृतिमुदावहा ॥[3]

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1. MS. No. 26249, O.I. Baroda.
2. MS. No. 1614, O.I. Baroda.
3. MS. No. 260/1899-1915, BORI, Pune.

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The *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (N.C.C.) notes Raghudeva as a disciple and son of Harirāma. Modern scholars like Umesh Mishra,[4] Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana[5] and Gopinatha Kaviraja[6] refer to him only as the disciple of Harirāma, not as a son. But, in absence of any evidence, we cannot accept Raghudeva as son of Harirāma. Some works also record his name as Raghudeva Śarmā and Raghuvīra.[7]

Raghudeva was not only a top ranking dialectician but he was also endowed with some poetic calibre. We find many verses which he has composed at the beginning and at the end of his works. He was fond of composing verses expressing his merits and demerits, like :

न शुद्धबुद्धिर्न च चित्तशुद्धिर्न शास्त्रसिद्धान्तमितज्ञतापि ।
अस्मादृशः स्वल्पविलोलजल्पस्तथापि धीरैः कृपया न हेयः ॥ (मुक्तिवादः)

अत्र सूक्तं दुरुक्तं वा यत्किञ्चित् जल्पितं मया ।
तत् सर्वं जगदीशस्य प्रीत्यर्थमभिनन्दितम् ॥ (नञ्वादार्थविवेचनम्)

From all these verses we get a glimpse of his personality. It seems that he was a simple man, not arrogant and proud of his scholarship. He openly admits his limitations and does not boast of his scholarship directly or indirectly in his compositions. Some of the verses also give us clue that he was a devotee of Lord Śiva.

Date :

About the date of Raghudeva there is not much problem. On the basis of direct evidences it is not difficult to determine his time, if not his exact date. We have

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4. Mishra, Umesh, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Part II, Tirabhukti Publications, Allahabad, 1966, p. 443.
5. Vidyabhusana, Satis Chandra, *A History of Indian Logic*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1978, p. 479.
6. Kaviraja, Gopinatha, *Gleanings from the History and Bibliography of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Literature*, Calcutta, 1961, pp. 72-73.
7. MS. No. 1256 of Jammu & MS. No. 26249 of O.I., Baroda.

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already said that he was a contemporary of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya who flourished in about 1650 A.D. Therefore we can fix him approximately in the middle of seventeenth century. Further, Yaśovijaya Gaṇi (1608 A.D.-1688 A.D.) who flourished at Dabhoi in the Baroda District of Gujarat refers to Raghudeva in his *Aṣṭasāhasrīvivaraṇa.*[8]

Again, Cirañjīvī Bhaṭṭācārya, who flourished in 1703 A.D., in his *Kāvyavilāsa* eulogises Raghudeva as his teacher :

इमौ भट्टाचार्यप्रवररघुदेवस्य चरणौ शरण्यौ चित्तान्तर्निरवधि विधाय स्थितवतः ।
किमन्यैर्वाग्देवीप्रमुखमखभाजां प्रभजनैः परिस्फूर्त्यै वांचाममृतलहरीनिर्झरजुषाम् ॥[9]

Moreover, the strongest evidence that Umesh Mishra[10] and Gopinatha Kaviraja[11] supply about Raghudeva is the manuscript of *Kusumāñjalikārikāvyākhyā* of Raghudeva. It is preserved in Saraswati Bhavan at Benaras and copied down by Mahadev Puntamkar in 1657 A.D. It bears the signature of Raghudeva. On the basis of all these evidences, we can fix the date of Raghudeva in the middle period of seventeenth century A.D.

Works :

Rather than the date and personal life of this great Naiyāyika, his works are much more important, because he is surviving now through his works. From the number of his works we can easily know that he was a prolific writer and had worked in this field with great zeal and dedication. He has authored more than 35 works covering the areas like Nyāya, Dharmaśāstra and Alaṁkāraśāstra. But, because of his erudite scholarship in Nyāya he is better known as a Naiyāyika and had earned the epithet *Nyāyālaṅkāra.* He has composed both, commentaries and independent short logical tracts (*Vādagranthas*). The commentaries on the great classics like the

8. Vidyabhusana, *Op.Cit.* p. 220.
9. Sharma, Batukanath, *Kāvyavilāsa of Cirañjīvī Bhaṭṭācārya,* Benaras, 1925, p. 12.
10. Mishra, Umesh, *Op.Cit.* p. 443.
11. Kaviraja, Gopinatha, *Op.Cit.* p. 73.

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Tattvacintāmaṇi of Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya, *Nyāyakusumāñjali* of Udayanācārya and *Nañvāda, Ākhyātavāda* of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi etc., are his substantial contributions to the Navya-Nyāya literature, especially to the branch that was developed under the leadership of the great stalwart like Raghunātha Śiromaṇi in Bengal. Therefore, without the study of Raghudeva's important works, the picture of final phase of Navya-Nyāya logic will be incomplete. In spite of this fact, no investigation till date has been made about Raghudeva and his works. Most of his works are still lying in manuscript form and awaiting editing, if possible, critical editing. At this juncture of writing about such a prolific Naiyāyika, the present author feels it necessary to say with pain that I could not collect all the Manuscript material of the texts of Raghudeva due to mere non-co-operation of the authorities of various Manuscript Libraries. If such a position prevails, then, we can have hardly a hope of bringing to light the valuable contributions made by this author, who has sacrificed his life in enriching a tradition which is day by day loosing its lustre. However, here a primary attempt is made to bring to light for the first time the contribution of this great Naiyāyika with the limited resources.

The *Catalogus Catalogorum* (C.C.) registers following works to the name of Raghudeva :[12]

Commentaries :

1. *Kaṇādasūtra-vyākhyā*
2. *Tattvacintāmaṇi-vyākhyā* "*Gūḍhārthadīpikā*" *or Raghudevī*
3. *Padārthakhaṇḍanavivaraṇa* on *Padārthakhaṇḍana* of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi
4. *Ākhyātavāda-ṭīkā*
5. *Nañvādaṭīkā*

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12. Aufrecht, Theodor, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, 1962, p. 482.

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6. *Niruktiprakāśa*
7. *Nyāyakusumāñjalikārikā-vyākhyā*
8. *Kāvyaprakāśa-kārikārthaprakāśikā*

Original Works :

9. *Dravyasārasaṁgraha*
10. *Anumitiparāmarśavicāra*
11. *Avayavagrantha*
12. *Ākāṅkṣāvāda*
13. *Īśvaravāda*
14. *Upasargadyotakatvavicāra*
15. *Kāraṇavādārtha*
16. *Kāryakāraṇabhāvavicāra*
17. *Citrarūpavāda*
18. *Jñānadvayavāda*
19. *Jñānalakṣaṇāvicāra*
20. *Tarkavicāra*
21. *Daṇḍakāraṇatāvicāra*
22. *Dharmitāvacchedakapratyāsattinirūpaṇa*
23. *Navīnanirmāṇa*
24. *Niścayatvanirukti* or *Niścayavāda*
25. *Pakṣatāvāda*
26. *Pratiyogijñānakāraṇatāvicāra*

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27. *Manovāda*

28. *Lakṣaṇavāda*

29. *Laukikaviṣayatāvāda*

30. *Viśiṣṭavaiśiṣṭyabodhavicāra* or *Viśiṣṭavaiśiṣṭyavāda*

31. *Viṣayatāvāda*

32. *Sāmagrīvāda*

33. *Dinasaṁgraha*, a text on Dharmaśāstra

Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana in *A History of Indian Logic* notes only six of his works.[13] S.K. De in the *History of Sanskrit Poetics* provides the information about the commentary of Raghudeva on *Kāvyaprakāśa.*[14] We also get information about his other works from the catalogues of the different manuscript libraries. Of all these works only one has seen the light of the day i.e. *Padārthakhaṇḍanavyākhyā*, a commentary on *Padārthatattvanirūpaṇa* of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi.[15] In this work Raghudeva himself has provided some pertinent information about his other works, namely (34) *Vāyupratyakṣatāvāda* (35) *Sattājātivicāra* (36) *Prāgabhāvavicāra* (37) *Viṣayatāvicāra* (perhaps the same *Viṣayatāvāda*), *Niruktiprakāśa* and *Citrarūpavāda* (last three are noted in C.C.). The only work which is not recorded anywhere is the *Muktivāda* (38). Following are the textual evidences collected from *Padārthakhaṇḍanavyākhyā*, which record the works of this prolific writer :

*.....इति नातिरिक्तमनसोऽनभ्युपगमे उपदर्शितगौरवप्रसङ्गः तथाविधसामान्यकार्यकारणभावावश्यकत्वं **निरुक्तिप्रकाशे** व्यवस्थापितमिति ग्रन्थगौरवान्नेह प्रपञ्चितमिति दिक् । (p.11)

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13. Vidyabhusana, *Op. Cit.* p. 481.

14. De, S. K., *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. II, 1925, p. 175.

15. Dwivedi, Vindhyeshvariprasad, *Padārthatattvanirūpaṇam*, Benaras, 1915.

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* एवमेतादृशरीत्या चित्रस्पर्शादिकमपि आत्मलाभपदवीं विदधातीत्युक्तमधिकं **चित्ररूपविचारे**ऽनुसन्धेयमिति सङ्क्षेपः । (p.35)

* तादृशकार्यकारणभावकल्पनस्यापि नैयायिकमतेऽधिकगौरवसम्पादकत्वादित्यादिकं बहुतरमूहनीयं **वायुप्रत्यक्षतावाद** इति । (p.43)

* सत्ताया धर्मिग्राहकमानसिद्धत्वादित्यधिकं **सत्ताजातिविचारे**ऽनुसन्धेयमिति। (p.49)

* अपर इत्यनेनास्वरसः सूचितः तद्बीजं तु **प्रागभावविचारे** प्रागभावस्यातिरिक्तत्वव्यवस्थापनावसरेऽनुसन्धेयम् । इह तु विस्तारभिया न लिखितमिति । (p.57)

* अधिकं **विषयताविचारे**ऽनुसन्धेयमिति संक्षेपः। (p.78)

Jagdishchandra, the editor of the *Muktivādavicāra* of Harirāma Bhaṭṭācārya, says that Raghudeva though belonged to Bengal moved to various places for teaching.[16] This may be the reason why his works are copied in different scripts and the manuscripts of his works are available in the Manuscript libraries existing in various parts of India, namely, Oriental Institute, Baroda, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, Vedic Samshodhana Mandal, Pune, Saraswati Bhavan Library, Benaras, G.N. Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Allahabad, Ranvir Sanskrit Pustakalaya, Jammu, Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, Jaipur Manuscript Library etc. The present writer has acquired xerox copies of some Mss. of Raghudeva's works. The beginning and ending portions of them are given below to acquaint the readers with the style, thematic treatment and dialectical methodology adopted by our author :

(1) **मुक्तिवादः**

(O.I. No. 9135, Fol. 12)

Beg. :

आत्यन्तिकी दुःखनिवृत्तिर्मुक्तिरित्याचार्याः। तत्र दुःखनिवृत्तिनिष्ठात्यन्तिकत्वं स्वसमानाधिकरणदुःखप्रागभावासमानकालीनत्वम् । तथा च स्वसमानाधिकरणदुःखप्रागभावासमानकालीनदुःखध्वंसो मोक्ष इति निर्गलितलक्षणं वाक्यार्थः ।

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16. Bhattacharya, Jagadishchandra, *Muktivādavicārah of Harirāma Tarkavāgīśa* (with the commentary *Muktilakṣmi*), Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1959, p. XV.

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End :

ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयवादस्तु 'तमेतं वेदानुवचनेन ब्राह्मणा विविदिषन्ति यज्ञेन दानेन तपसानाशकेनेति' (बृह. उप. ४.४.२२) श्रुतिविरोधान्नादरणीयः । तथा श्रुत्या ज्ञानजनकत्वेन तदिच्छाजनकत्वेन वा कर्मणां प्रतिपादनात् । कर्मणां ज्ञानत्वजनकत्वं त्वन्तःकरणशुद्धिद्वारेति वेदान्तशास्त्रे वाचस्पत्यादौ महानुद्घोषः । इह तु ग्रन्थगौरवभिया मया तन्न प्रपञ्चितमिति ।

न शुद्धबुद्धिर्न च चित्तशुद्धि-
र्न शास्त्रसिद्धांतमितज्ञतापि ।
अस्मादृशः स्वल्पविलोलजल्प-
स्तथापि धीरैः कृपया न हेयः ॥

इति श्रीरघुदेवकृतो **मुक्तिवादः** समाप्तः ।

(2) **प्रागभावविचारः** (O.I. Mysore, No. B-1290, Fol. 11)

Beg. :

अथ प्रागभावे किं प्रमाणम् । न तावदध्यक्षम् । इहेदानीं घटप्रागभाव इति प्रत्यक्षासिद्धेः । घटो भविष्यतीति प्रत्यक्षस्य च वर्तमानकालोत्तरकालोत्पत्तिकत्वस्यात्रावलम्बनत्वेनैवोपपत्तेः प्रागभावसाधकत्वात् । न चाभावत्वं विनाशिवृत्तिपदार्थविभाजकोपाधित्वाद् भावत्ववदित्यनुमानात्तत्सिद्धिरिति वाच्यम् ।

End :

तदसत् । स्वसामानाधिकरण्यावच्छिन्नकालिकविशेषणतासंबन्धेन दुःखवदन्यत्वस्य ध्वंसत्वे निवेशादेवेदानीन्तनदुःखध्वंसे व्यभिचारवारणसंभवात् । तद्वारणाय दुःखे चरमत्वनिवेशस्य वैकल्यादिति ।

इति श्रीरघुदेवभट्टाचार्यकृत**प्रागभावविचारः** समाप्तः ।

It is interesting to note that the same text with the title प्रागभावखण्डनविचारः (O.I. No. 12372) is attributed to Harirāma. The colophon reads - इति श्रीहरिरामविरचितः प्रागभावखण्डनविचारः समाप्तः ।

(3) **ईश्वरवादः** (O.I. No. 26251, Fol. 5)

Beg. :

यद्यपीह न सन्देहो न वास्ति कल्पनान्यथा ।
तथापि रघुदेवेन तारल्यात्किञ्चिदुच्यते ॥

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ईश्वरसद्भावे न प्रत्यक्षं प्रमाणम् । आत्मप्रत्यक्षानुकूलस्यास्मदीयविजातीयमनःसन्निकर्षस्य तत्राभावात् । अन्यथा परमात्मनोऽपि परप्रत्यक्षापत्तिः ।

End :

ननूपदर्शितरीत्या सिद्धेऽपीश्वरे दर्शितरीत्या शरीरसंभवेन कथं तस्य वेदकर्तृत्वम् ।.....

इति श्रीरघुदेवभट्टाचार्यकृत **ईश्वरवादः** समाप्तः ।

संवत् १८४९ आषाढशुक्लप्रतिपदायां बुधे नीमचरणेन लिखितं जयपुरे स्वपठनार्थम् । शुभं भूयात् । श्रीरस्तु ।

(4) **अनुमितिपरामर्शविचारः** (O.I. No. 1193, Fol. 12)

Beg. :

परामर्श विनाऽनुमित्यनुदयादनुमितिं प्रति परामर्शो हेतुरिति सिद्धान्तः । तत्र धूमपरामर्शसत्त्वे घटानुमित्यनुदयात्पर्वताद्युदेश्यकवह्न्यादिविधेयकानुमितिं प्रति पर्वतादिविशेष्यकवह्न्यादिव्याप्यधूमादिप्रकारकनिश्चयो हेतुरिति ।

End :

इति श्रीभट्टाचार्यरघुदेवकृतोऽ**नुमितिपरामर्शविचारः** समाप्तिमगमत् ॥श्री॥

संवत् १९१३ श्रावणशुद्धतृतीयायां भानुवासरे लिखितोऽयं ग्रन्थः ।

अक्रूडपुरवास्तव्य औदीच्यज्ञातिसहस्र शु. भगवानसूत् दुर्गाशंकरस्य लेखः ।

(5) **नञ्वादार्थविवेचनम्** (O.I. No. 1614, Fol. 24)

Beg. :

शिवं प्रणम्य तत्पश्चात्तर्कवागीश्वरं गुरुम् ।

क्रियते रघुदेवेन नञ्वादार्थविवेचनम् ॥१॥

नञः शक्यतावच्छेदकं व्यवस्थापयति । संसर्गाभावश्चेत्यादि । संसर्गाभावत्वमन्योन्याभावत्वं च नञः शक्यतावच्छेदकमित्यर्थः । संसर्गाभावत्वं च ध्वंसप्रागभावादौ संसर्गाभाव इति प्रतीतिसाक्षिकोऽतिरिक्तोऽखण्डोपाधिः ।

End :

आहुरित्यनेनास्वरसः सूचितः । स च दुग्धं न दधीत्यादौ दधिपदोत्तरलुप्तविभक्तेरनुसंधानं विनापि शाब्दबोधस्यानुभवसिद्धस्यापलापो बोध्य इति ।

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अत्र सूक्तं दुरुक्तं वा यत्किञ्चिज्जल्पितं मया ।
तत् सर्वं जगदीशस्य प्रीत्यर्थमभिनन्दितम् ॥
रघुदेवकृतग्रंथालोचनेन मनीषिणाम् ।
अध्यापयन्तु संतोषैर्नञ्वादमविवादतः ॥
इति रघुदेवायं तृप्यणं समाप्तिमगमत् ।

(6) **लौकिकविषयताविचारः** (O.I. No. 26491, Fol. 6)

Beg. :

घटं साक्षात्करोमीत्याद्यनुव्यवसायविषयतया लौकिकविषयताया अतिरिक्तायाः सिद्धिरिति नवीनाः । तत्र वदन्ति बहवः । तथा हि घटं साक्षात्करोमीत्याद्यनुव्यवसायस्यातिरिक्तलौकिकविषयतावत्त्वं न विषयः । किन्तु घटविषयकप्रत्यक्षत्वमेव ।

End :

.....लौकिकविषयताभ्युपगमस्य निष्प्रयोजकत्वात् । तथाविधातिरिक्तलौकिकविषयताभ्युपगमे कार्यकारणलाघवस्योपदर्शितप्रतिबंदिसहस्रकवलितत्वेनानुपादेयत्वादित्यलमतिशयविस्तरेणेति ।

इति **लौकिकविषयताविचारः** ।

Though the colophon does not provide any information about Raghudeva being the author, from the evidence that C.C. ascribes this work only to Raghudeva, we can presume that this work must have come down to us from the pen of Raghudeva. However, another Ms. No. 9947 at the O.I., Baroda, which is identical with above text reads its colophon as :

इति लौकिकविषयतावादः समाप्तः । १७४३ समये कार्तिकवदि सप्तम्यां चित्तलोपाख्यशिवयज्वसूनोः हरिहरस्येदं लौकिकविषयता सोमांवांघ्रिसरोरुहसंनिधौ (?) ।

The Folio 1-a also mentions : लौकिकविषयतावादपुस्तं(स्तकं) चित्तलाख्यहरिहरीयम् । Here it seems that Harihara must be the owner's name and should not be confused as the author of the text.

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(7) **सामग्रीवादः** (BORI, No. 260, 1899-1915, Fol. 14)

Beg. :

श्रीनृसिंहाय नमः । समाने विषय एकदा लौकिकप्रत्यक्षसामग्रीसत्त्वे अनुमितिसामग्रीसत्त्वे च लौकिकप्रत्यक्षमेवोत्पद्यते । तदनन्तरं साक्षात्करोमीत्यनुव्यवसायस्यानुभवसिद्धत्वादिति । तदनुत्पादनिर्वाहार्थं समाने विषयेऽनुमितिं प्रति लौकिकसामग्र्याः प्रतिबंधकत्वं कल्पनीयम् ।

End :

.....अवच्छेदकतासंबन्धेन इन्द्रियमनोयोगरूपकारणाभावाभ्युपगमेनैव तत्प्रत्यक्षापत्तिवारणसंभवे समवायसंबन्धेन प्रत्यक्षं प्रति इन्द्रियमनोयोगस्य स्वाश्रयीभूतमनःप्रतियोगिकविजातीयसंयोगवत्त्वरूपपरंपरासंबन्धेन कारणत्वं कल्पनीयम् ।.....

इति श्रीरघुदेवभट्टाचार्यविरचितः **सामग्रीवादः** समाप्तः ।

भट्टाचार्यधुरीणेन हरिरामेण धीमता ।

सामग्रीवादरचना कृता कृतिमुदावहा ॥ इत्यपि बहवः ॥

(8) **विशिष्टवैशिष्ट्यबोधविचारः** (VSM, No. 11886 Fol. 25)

Beg. :

श्रीकोपरेशाय नृसिंहाय नमः । ॐ । विशेषणतावच्छेदकप्रकारकनिर्णयशून्यकाले विशिष्टवैशिष्ट्यबोधापत्तिवारणाय विशिष्टवैशिष्ट्यबोधे विशेषणतावच्छेदकप्रकारकनिर्णयत्वेन हेतुता कल्प्यते । तद्धेतुता च न सामान्यतो विशिष्ट-वैशिष्ट्यबोधत्वावच्छिन्नं प्रति विशेषणतावच्छेदकप्रकारकनिर्णयत्वेन ।

End :

एवमपि यादृशविषये व्याप्तिनिर्णयोत्तरमिच्छाधीनव्याप्त्यभावावगाहिसंशयकालेऽनुमितेरितरकारणसमवधानं नासीत्तत्र निर्णयत्वानिवेशेन लाघवसंभवात्संशयविरोधित्वाभ्युपगमेनैव वा नानुपपत्तिगंधोऽपीति संक्षेपः । श्रीलक्ष्मीनृसिंहाय नमः । श्रीरस्तु ।

विकृतिसंवत्सरस्य पौषशुद्धदशमीगुरुवासरे रघुदेवविरचित**विशिष्टवैशिष्ट्यबोधविचारः** संपूर्णः ।

The manuscript of the same text in the O.I., Baroda (No. 12376) matches with the above mentioned text, but, does not contain the author's name.

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(9) **आख्यातवादव्याख्या** (O.I. No. 13988, Fol. 37)

Beg. :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः।

प्रणम्य नीरदश्याममुद्दामगुणमन्दिरम् ।

आख्यातवादसद्व्याख्या रघुदेवेन तन्यते ॥१॥

नैयायिकः परमतं निराकर्तुं स्वमतं व्यवस्थापयति । आख्यातस्येति । यत्रोवाच्यः(च) यन्नत्वविशिष्टो वाच्यः यन्नत्वं शक्यतावच्छेदकं इति यावत् यथाश्रुतेर्यत्नस्य व्यापारान्तर्गतत्वेन.....

End :

.....तत्र फलेति संयोगविभागादीत्यर्थः । क्वचिदाश्रयत्वादिकमपीति भावाख्यातस्थल आश्रयत्वादेरभावात्क्वचिदिति प्रसङ्गादिति लक्षणादिना तादृशानुभवोपपादने च लाघवतर्कस्यैवाङ्गीकरणीयत्वादिति भावः ।

इति रघुदेवन्यायालंकारभट्टाचार्यविचर(रचि)ता **आख्यातवादव्याख्या** समाप्ता ।

(10) **नवीननिर्माणम्** (Jammu No. 1256, Fol. 47)

Beg. :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः। श्रीसूर्यगणेशमहालक्ष्मीशिवविष्णुभ्यो नमः । श्री सरस्वत्यै नमः।

भोक्तुं नवनवनीतं विनीतमिव यान्तमङ्कमम्बायाः ।

वेदाविदितगुणान्तं नन्दसुतं तं नमस्यामः ॥१॥

अयत्नतः पंडितमण्डलीनां गूढार्थतत्त्वप्रतिपत्तिहेतोः ।

संक्षेपतः श्रीरघुदेवशर्मा **नवीननिर्माणमिदं** तनोति ॥

प्रत्यक्षप्रमाणोपजीवकत्वात्प्रत्यक्षानन्तरमनुमानं निरूप्यते । प्रत्यक्षप्रमित्युपजीवकत्वात्प्रत्यक्षप्रमित्यनन्तर-मनुमितिर्निरूप्यते ।

At Fol. 47 the MS. breaks off with :

यदि च लक्षणे साध्यतावच्छेदकसमनियतप्रतियोगिताकाभावनिवेशे वह्निमान् धूमादित्यत्र.....व्यामिरित्युपदर्शितोभयाभावविशिष्टसाध्यनिष्ठप्रतियोगिताकाभाव.....

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(11) **द्रव्यसारसङ्ग्रहः** (O.I. No. 26249, Fol. 94)

Beg. :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।

यत्तादात्म्यस्फुटपरिचयोत्पादनायार्धदेहं गौरी प्राप्ता हरिरपि यदीयार्धदेहं जहार ।

अत्युद्दामापरिमितगुणग्राममीशं तमाद्यं वन्दे यस्मादमलमतिभिः प्राप्यते मोक्षलक्ष्मीः ॥१॥

रघुवीरकृतद्रव्यसारसङ्ग्रहलोकनैः ।

संतश्चरन्तु निःशङ्कं सिद्धान्तसिद्धवर्त्मसु ॥२॥

End :

मूर्त्तत्वात्परत्वापरत्ववेगाख्यसंस्कारा मनसि सिद्धा इति मूर्त्तत्वं तस्य कथं सिद्धमिति तु नाशङ्कनीयम् । उपदर्शितरीत्या विभुत्वाभावादेव तस्य तत्सिद्धेः । मनसो मूर्त्तत्वेन द्रव्यत्वसिद्धिरप्यवधेया । दीधितिकृतस्त्वमनो न पदार्थान्तरमपि त्वसमवेतम् । ततु प्राचीनमते परमाणुर्नवीनमते त्रसविति मनसोऽष्टमात्रगुणवत्त्वं निर्युक्तिकमित्याहुः ।

इति श्रीयुतमहामहोपाध्यायहरिरामतर्कवागीशभट्टाचार्यशिष्यश्रीयुतरघुदेवभट्टाचार्यविरचितो **द्रव्यसारसङ्ग्रहः** समाप्तिमगमत् ।

(12) **तर्कविचारः** (BORI, No. 180 of 1899-1915, Fol. 4)

The N.C.C. records this work as that of Raghudeva but the actual manuscript does not bear the author's name. The colophon of this manuscript simply reads : इति तर्कविचारः ।

(13) **प्रतियोगिज्ञानकारणतावादः** (O.I. Mysore, No. P. 4021/3)

Beg. :

प्रतियोगिज्ञानशून्यकाले नेत्याकारकप्रतियोग्यमिश्रिताभावलौकिकप्रत्यक्षवारणाय अभावलौकिकप्रत्यक्षं प्रति प्रतियोगिज्ञानहेतुत्वमङ्गीकुर्वन्ति प्राचीनाः ।

End :

तस्माद्द्वयोः कार्यतावच्छेदकयोः सामानाधिकरण्यं तिष्ठति । तयोरेकेन फले जननीयेऽन्यस्य सहकारित्वं स्वीक्रियत इति नियममङ्गीकृत्य इन्द्रियसम्बद्धविशेषणतया फले जननीये.....प्रतियोगिज्ञानस्य हेतुत्वकल्पनेनेति किमधिकेन ।

इति श्रीरघुदेवभट्टाचार्यविरचितः अभाववादे **प्रतियोगिज्ञानकारणतावादः** समाप्तः ।

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(14) **आकाङ्क्षावादार्थः** (VSM, No.11927, Fol. 23)

Beg. :

श्रीकोप्यनिवासेन नृसिंहाय नमः ॥ॐ॥ सिद्धायां शाब्दाख्यविलक्षणप्रमायां तत्करणतया शब्दज्ञानस्य स्वतंत्रप्रमाणता । प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानशब्दाः प्रमाणानीति सूत्रे शब्दपदं शब्दज्ञानपरम् ।.....

End :

न च मन्मतेऽपि विशेष्यतासंबंधावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकनिराकांक्षत्वज्ञानाभावविशिष्टविशेष्यकतात्पर्यज्ञानत्वेन हेतुत्वोपगमान्नोक्तदोष इति वाच्यम् ।

सुभानुसंवत्सरमाघकृष्णचतुर्दशी गुरुवासरे रघुदेवरचित **आकाङ्क्षावादार्थः** नृसिंहेन लिखितः । The Ms. No. 12603 of O.I., Baroda matches with this text but does not bear the author's name.

(15) **विषयतावादः** (O.I. No.23163, Fol. 23)

Beg. :

श्रीगणपतये नमः । विषयता च विषयाकारप्रतीतिसाक्षिकस्वरूपसंबंधविशेषो ज्ञानादीनां विषये नत्वतिरिक्तमानाभावादिति प्रांचः । तदसत् । तथाहि । विषयताया ज्ञानस्वरूपत्वं घटवद्भूतलमित्यादिज्ञान....

End :

एतेनानुमित्यादिसाधारणविलक्षणविषयताया आपत्त्यादिसाधारण्ये तत्स्थलीयप्रतिबंधकतायाः प्रतिबध्यतावच्छेदककोटौ प्रत्यक्षान्यत्वं निवेशनीयमिति गौरवमित्यपि परास्तमिति कृतं पल्लवितेन ।

इति श्रीरघुदेवभट्टाचार्यविरचितोऽयं **विषयतावादः** समाप्तिं पफाण ।

संवत् १८३८ सनावर्षे शाके १७३ (१७८२) प्रवर्तमाने पौषमासे शुक्लपक्षे लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं पं. आशारामात्मजेन कृपारामेणात्मपठनार्थम् ।

It is interesting to note that the above presented excerpt is from the *Viṣayatāvāda* of Raghudeva and that is very much clear from the colophon. I, however, could get one more manuscript (O.I. 11159) of the same *Viṣayatāvāda*, the colophon of which reads :

इति हरिरामकृतविषयतावादः समाप्तः ।

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This produces an evidence that the author of the *Viṣayatāvāda* is Harirāma Bhaṭṭācārya, the teacher of Raghudeva. Now, the problem is : are there two *Viṣayatāvādas*, written by two different authors ? But after the comparison of these two texts the problem becomes more complicated.

Prof. V.N. Jha in his critical edition of the *Viṣayatāvāda* while dealing with the problem of authorship of this text, quotes from the *Padārthatattvanirūpaṇaṭīkā* wherein Raghudeva says :

अधिकं विषयताविचारेऽनुसन्धेयमिति ।

Further, he observes : 'It is not clear from this comment of Raghudeva whether he wants to look into the *Viṣayatāvicāra* written by himself or by Harirāma'.[17] But there is no doubt in my mind about the fact that Raghudeva has written *Viṣayatāvāda* . The reason is that he refers to his other works along with *Viṣayatāvāda* in the *Padārthatattvanirūpaṇa* and almost all his works are available in the manuscript form. Here it is confirmed that he refers to his own work- *Viṣayatāvāda,* not to that of Harirāma as Prof. Jha doubts. But, somehow, the textual evidences are not giving us the authentic picture. It may be because of the scribal error or some kind of intermingling of the texts. We also get similar problem in case of the text of *Prāgabhāvavicāra* as I have already noted. We can see the possibility of the confusion because of the reason that both teacher and disciple have written on the same topics and have given the same titles to their works and also used the same method of presentation.

The present writer has so far edited two texts of Raghudeva[18], the gist of which is given below to facilitate the readers :

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17. Jha, V.N., *Viṣayatāvāda of Harirāma Tarkālaṅkāra*, University of Poona, Pune, 1987, p. LIII.

18. Prajapati, Sweta, 'Raghudevakṛta Muktivāda', *Svādhyāya*, Vol. 35, Nos. 1-2, 1998, pp. 95-108; 'Raghudevakṛta Prāgabhāvavicāraḥ', *Svādhyāya*, Vol. 36, Nos. 3-4, 1999, pp. 191-201.

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Muktivāda :

The present work discusses the nature of emancipation (*apavarga* or *mukti*), an interesting topic in Indian philosophy. Udayanācārya describes emancipation as permanent (*atyanta*) cessation (*nivṛtti*) of misery (*duḥkha*) and Raghudeva like other writers tried to explain the two terms-*atyanta* and *nivṛtti* in various ways.

Muktivāda is a *vādagrantha*. Raghudeva discusses the views of some philosophers minutely and tries to give a very perfect definition of *mukti* following the Navya-Nyāya style of defining. In the beginning he quotes the definition of *mukti* as *ātyantikī duḥkhanivṛttirmuktiḥ* from the *Nyāyakusumāñjali* of Udayanācārya and then proceeds in discussing each term of the definition in the *padakṛtya* method. Raghudeva thinks that this definition suffers from the defect and it cannot be applicable to all cases of emancipation. So each case of emancipation should be defined individually. He suggests that this defect can be removed if *mokṣa* is described as the destruction of final misery (*caramaduḥkhadhvaṁśa*) and 'finality' in the context may be understood as universal inhering in misery. But this definition too is not free from defect and vitiated by cross-division (*Sāṅkaryadoṣa*).

Raghudeva next proceeds to discuss the question – is *tattvajñāna* a cause of emancipation ? He criticises the *mukti* concept of Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṁsakas. He discusses at length the definition of *mukti* given by Vācaspati Miśra in the *Bhāmatībhāṣya*.

At the end he discusses the view of his teacher Harirāma who in his *Muktivādavicāra* evaluates the concept of *mukti*.

It is important to note that Raghudeva has followed his teacher verbatim in orgnising his arguments. To strengthen his views Raghudeva quotes from *Amarakośa, Gītā, Muṇḍakopaṇiṣad, Bṛhadāraṇayakopaniṣad, Taittirīya-āraṇyaka, Vājasaneyisaṁhitā, Chāndogyopaniṣad* etc.

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The style of Raghudeva is extremely dialectical and like that his language is over-loaded with abstruse Nyāya terminology.

Raghudeva's *Muktivāda* is to be distinguished from other namesakes e.g. *Navamuktivāda* of *Gadādhara, Muktivādavicāra* of Harirāma, *Muktivāda* of Gokulanātha Upādhyāya and *Muktivicāra* of Rakhaladāsa Bhaṭṭācārya.

Prāgabhāvavāda:

Prāgabhāvavāda is a *Vādagrantha* dealing particularly with *Prāgabhāva* (antecedent non-existence), one of the four varieties of *abhāva.* Raghudeva does not discuss his predecessors' views about this concept but he tries to examine them presupposing the arguments of *pūrvapakṣa.* He does not discuss even other three types of *abhāvas* in this text, i.e. annihilative non-existence (*pradhvaṁsābhāva*), absolute non-existence (*atyantābhāva*) and mutual non-existence (*anyonyābhāva*).

In the beginning Raghudeva raises the questions : How does the cognition of *Prāgabhāva* occur ? By which *pramāṇa* (means of knowledge) the knowledge of *Prāgabhāva* is comprehended ? Like earlier school of Nyāya, Raghudeva argues that if the prior non-existence of a cloth (*paṭa-prāgabhāva*) were not recognised as a special type of non-existence, having no beginning but coming to an end at the moment the cloth comes into being, there will be an absurd result. The same cloth will be produced again and again in an endless series of successive moment. If the prior non-existence of a cloth be recognised as a special type of non-existence forming one of the factors constituting the causal apparatus of the cloth, no such absurd result will arise. One of the causes of the cloth i.e. its own *prāgabhāva*, ceases to exist at the first moment of the creation of the cloth.

Thus, showing the need of acceptance of *Prāgabhāva* he ultimately established it as an independent entity. From the study of the entire text it is observed that

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Raghudeva does not deal with the topic from positive perspective and creates only verbal juglury. In comparison with *Muktivāda*, this text seems to be of inferior type as far as his language, style of arguments, clarity of subject etc. are concerned.

Conclusion :

In the light of the material available with me, I tried to present information about the personal life and works of Raghudeva. But I feel that many new things will come to light after the discovery of all his works. I also think that the data provided in this paper will serve as a base for furthering the study on Raghudeva and his philosophy. But, before that I want to share my experiences, that are equally important for my successors. While searching for the works of Raghudeva I came to know that some scholars have written treatises on one and the same topics like *Muktivāda, Viṣayatāvāda, Prāgabhāvavāda* etc. and their works bear the same titles. From this we can guess that the students were given by their teachers to write on those topics so that they will be trained to compose logical tracts. They can reflect their understanding as well as originality. A researcher has to be very careful while preparing the editions of such works, even if they are few in numbers, otherwise there is a possibility of making mistakes. While editing such texts, one is advised to make use of all the Mss. available as well as the printed texts written on the topic. It will not only save the labour of the researchers but also give a better understanding of the text and textual problems. The present writer of this paper was immensely benefited at the time of preparing the critical edition of *Muktivāda*, the manuscript of which was not legible, was full of scribal corrections and damaged, by using the texts of the *Muktivāda* and *Muktivādavicāra* of Gadādhara and Harirāma respectively.

In case of the text where the colophon does not supply any clue about the author, the comparison of the text in various manuscript copies helps us to confirm the name of the author, as it happened in case of *Viśiṣṭavaiśiṣṭyabodhavicāra* and *Ākāṅkṣāvāda* of Raghudeva.

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Another problem that has come to my notice is that the Catalogues are not always reliable. When I started searching for the Mss. of the *Muktivāda*, it is known from all sources including the office of N.C.C. that only the Oriental Institute of Baroda preserves a copy of this work. Assuming it as a single copy, the edition is prepared and published. But, by chance I found a Ms. of Raghudeva's *Yuktivāda* when I was searching for other Mss. in BORI at Pune. Out of my curiosity I checked and discovered that it was *Muktivāda*, wrongly printed as *Yuktivāda*.

At the present state of research, we have to satisfy with this much only and the continuity of investigation will bring many more facts in future.

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SOCIAL STATUS OF *DEVADĀSĪ - NITYASUMAṄGALĪ*

SUDHA JHA*

Unique and unusual among Indian women, the temple women, commonly known as the *devadāsīs*, have long been objects of fascination as also the focus of controversy. The term *devadāsī* literally means female slaves of the deity. They were a specialized group of women, who dedicated themselves to the deities of temples.

In some degree or other, the practice of employing girls in temples was prevalent in almost all ancient societies all over the world. The earliest records of Babylonia mention prevalence of sacred prostitution in Western Asia. Similar cults have also been traced in the Far East, Central America, West Africa, Syria, Phoenicia, Arabia, Egypt, Greece and Rome.[1] Herodotus refers to the cult of enforced temporary prostitution of all Babylonian women to please the deity of Ishtar. In Syria, there existed a permanent as well as a temporary system of religious prostitution at the temples.

Much of our understanding of the role and status of the temple women of India is derived from the representation of these women in the various historical resources, Indian literature, travellers' and ethnographic accounts etc. The cult of dedicating girls to temples prevailed all over India in different forms and names - as

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Journal of The Oriental Institute, Vol. LI, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 2001 pp. 85-94.

* 149/IV, Central Revenue Colony, Race Course Circle, Vadodara.

1. Shankar Jogan, *Devadāsī Cult : A Sociological Analysis,* Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi, 1990, pp. 29 & 31.

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Maharis in Kerala, *Natis* in Assam, *Muralis* in Maharashtra, *Basavis* and *Devalis* in Andhra, and *Basavis* or *Jogatis* in Karnataka. These servants of gods were expert artists in music and dance, especially in the medieval period, when the system was at its peak. As time passed, society underwent changes and *devadāsīs* came to be exploited by the dominating classes. In the course of time, their services shifted from the gods to the earthly gods and lords like the priests, kings, feudal lords and rich men. The woman so dedicated to the deity started leading the life of a cheap prostitute with religious sanction.

However, temple women in all times and places in Indian history have not had the same identities, activities, status or significance. Their identities were bound up with a particular place; that is their most important connections were with a temple, a deity, or a village. Thus the primary focus for temple women's identities continued to be a connection with a particular sacred place rather than with family, caste, community, profession or function.[2]

However, in respect of the *devadāsīs* also, there existed sharp caste discrimination, as was the condition in the society at large. For instance, amorous services of *devadāsīs* were restricted to only the first three twice-born castes, excluding the *Śūdras* and untouchable classes. Certain privileges were usually given to the Brahmin *devadāsīs* and we find instances of restrictive arrangements for cohabitation with them. For example, Francis Hamilton who visited India during the late 18th and early 19th century had, while referring to the temples at Tulava, observed that the Brahmin *devadāsīs* living in those temples were to confine their amorous services to Brahmins alone. The privileged status of the Brahmin *devadāsīs* was also revealed by the fact that they alone could reach near the *Ratnavedī* (an altar inlaid with jewels

2. Orr LeslieC, *Donors, Devotees and Daughters of God - Temple Women in Medieval Tamil Nadu*, [South Asia Research], Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 161 & 164.

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in the inner sanctum) of the Jagannath Temple at Puri whereas those belonging to the other castes had to sing and dance at the *Naṭamandira* outside the threshold of the inner sanctum.

The *devadāsī* was considered '*nityasumaṅgalī* '- a woman eternally free from the adversity of widowhood, and in that auspicious capacity, she performed her ritual and artistic duties in the temple. The *devadāsī* exceeded even the '*sumaṅgalī*' (married woman whose husband is alive) in auspiciousness. Firstly, because the individual female powers of the *devadāsīs*, who were said to be the 'sprouting of the śakti', were ritually merged with those of the goddesses, and secondly, because she was dedicated to a divine husband i.e. a husband who could never die. Consequently, she could never lose her (double) auspiciousness and was, therefore, called '*nityasumaṅgalī*', the 'ever auspicious female.' It was, therefore, felt that the temple women should be employed and protected by the temple because they brought luck, protected the king and the country, provided protection against danger, and supported prosperity, health, fertility and happiness. Infact, one of the most salient features of the *devadāsī* tradition was to spread auspiciousness and remove evil influences by waving the pot lamp (*pūrṇakumbhadīpa*) and by dancing (*nṛttanam*).[3]

As *nityasumaṅgalī*, the *devadāsī* became an adjunct to conservative domestic society and her presence became more or less obligatory at celebrations of all kinds. What in ordinary homes was performed by the *sumaṅgalīs* of the family, ceremonies welcoming the bridegroom and the guests, singing songs of festivity at marriages and puberty ceremonies, were, in the houses of the elite performed by the *devadāsīs*. As a picture of good luck, beauty and fame the *devadāsī* was welcomed in all homes,

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3. Kersenboom Saskia, *Nityasumaṅgalī-Devadāsī Tradition in South India*, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, Delhi, 1987, p. 204.

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including those of the wealthy, at all happy occasions of celebration and honour.[4] Royal patronage and invitations to royal occasions served to enhance their prestige.

The French missionary Abbe Dubois (*circa* 1770-1848), who spent 31 years of his life in South India, has in his *Moeurs, Institutions Et Ceremonies Des Peuples De L' Inde*, described many aspects of *devadāsī* life and tradition. He was shocked by the fact that any connection with the temple dancers was favourably looked upon, and the same was reflected in the proverb *veśyā-darśanam puṇyam pāpa nāśanam*,[5] which means literally "to see a courtesan is auspicious and the destruction of sin". This proverb indeed did full justice to the *devadāsī* as a *nityasumaṅgalī*, the ever-auspicious female. There is no doubt that it was her prestigious *sumaṅgalī* status, which lay behind their customary patronage and acceptance by married, financially secured and socially powerful, venerable men. The Portuguese traveller Domino Paes, who visited Vijaynagar in 1520 A.D., observed that the *devadāsīs* were very much esteemed and any respectable man could go to them without any censure or social stigma. He has also mentioned that the *devadāsīs* could even enter the presence of the wives of the king, stay with them and eat betel with them, a thing that no other person could do no matter what his rank might be.[6] Seen in this perspective, the social status of the *devadāsīs* appears to be quite high.

Though the *devadāsīs* were married to gods, they sometimes married respectable persons including the princes and entered the palace as the king's consort. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* contains an interesting piece of information.[7] Sahajā, a temple-dancing girl of Kashmir, was the sweetheart of prince Harṣadeva. Later, she married

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4. Srinivasan Amrit, "Reform and Revival : The Devadasi and her Dance", *Economic and Political Weekly*, November 2, Volume XX, No. 44, 1985, p. 1870.
5. Dubois Abbe, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 310.
6. Kersenboom Saskia; *Op.cit.* p. 37.
7. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* Translated by M.A. Stein, VII 850-60, Vol. I, Motilal Banarsidass, 1961, pp. 334-335.

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his brother Utkarṣa. After 20 years, on being widowed, Harṣa tried to win her back, but she refused his offer and became a *satī* for which she was highly praised. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara*,[8] Devasena, the king of Śrāvastī, fell in love with Unmādinī, the beautiful wife of his General. When the General came to know of this, he proposed to offer his wife to the temple as a *devadāsī*, and the king could take her up from there without incurring any social stigma. In Assam too, the two cousin sisters Phuleśvarī and Draupadit, who happened to be *devadāsīs* in the temple at Joydal, were taken in marriage by the king.

The conscious theological rejection of the harsh, puritanical ascetic ideal for women in the *bhakti* sects softened for the *devadāsī* the rigours of domestic asceticism in the shape of the widow and of religious asceticism in the shape of Jain and Buddhist nuns. Not surprisingly, therefore, many of the *devadāsīs* led a comfortable and even luxurious life and were women of means. The Portuguese traveller Domino Paes said that they lived in beautiful houses besides the best thoroughfare of the city. He was indeed wide-eyed with wonder and amazement at their wealth, especially their jewelry.

The *devadāsīs* were also well accomplished in learning, which was generally denied to ordinary women at that time. The French missionary Abbe J.A. Dubois has highlighted this aspect in the following words : "These courtesans are the only women in India who enjoy the privilege of learning to read, to dance, and to sing. A well-bred and respectable woman would for this reason blush to acquire any of these accomplishments."[9] He admired their cleanness, their good taste in clothes, their dignity of department and the civility of their language. "Indeed", he says, "they are particularly careful not to expose any part of their body." He concluded that this

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8. *Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva*, Ch. III, *Taraṅga* I, Translated by C.H. Tawney, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1968, pp. 247-49.,
9. Dubois Abbe, *Op.cit.* p. 586.

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probably arose from their sophistication in the art of seduction. In fact, the high regard for the *devadāsīs* was also derived because they had undergone a rigorous training in music and dances, were skilled in languages, and polished and dignified in their manners. Dr. Shortt, in his *Memoirs* read before the Anthropological Society of London during 1867-1868, also praised their beauty and culture and was not at all surprised that so many European officers took them for mistresses.

The *devadāsīs* commanded social esteem and recognition even in death as in their life. Indeed, one of the highest compliments, which were paid to the *devadāsīs*, was their funeral. Flowers, sandal paste and a garland from the god of the temple were sent on the occasion of her last rites. In some temples, the fire of the kitchen in the temple was used to light her pyre and the deity observed 'pollution' for a token period of one day when no *pūjā* was performed at the shrine.

In the Chola period, the temple women constituted a social category that was distinct from other types of women, e.g. from palace women or from ordinary family women - both in their relationship to property and in their social identities. Economic factors seem to have been most significant in determining the different trajectories of temple women and other women. Women apparently did not have control over their *strīdhana* (property), which was instead transferred by their fathers to their husbands. Thus economic power was largely concentrated in the hands of male heads of households and not women. On the other hand, temple women, being unmarried, enjoyed economic autonomy.[10] Thus, over the course of the Chola period, most women - because they were economically, as well as socially, defined by marriage - found themselves in an increasingly weaker position, whereas for temple women the absence of a connection to marriage, and the alternative linkage to the temple provided a context in which their economic power was strengthened. This allowed

10. Orr LeslieC, *Op.cit.* p. 171.

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them to continue to act as temple patrons, whereas other women's donative activities were curtailed.

According to the testimony of the Chola period inscriptions, making gifts to the temple was the single most important role for temple women. In the later Chola period, we find explicit mention of temple women's deals with the temple-the exchange of a donation for certain rights or privileges. The temple women used donations as a way to forge and strengthen connections with the temples in their locality, connections, which were critical to their status and identity as temple women.[11] During the later Chola period, their rising public presence as temple patrons contrasts with the dramatic decline in the number of inscriptional references to other kinds of women.

However, even though the temple women were increasingly active and acquired greater and greater public recognition in the course of the Chola period, there is little evidence in the inscriptions to show that temple women had an important role to play in the ritual and administrative life of the temple. Their functions in the temple were vaguely defined, and in some cases temple women were assigned menial tasks, for which they were relatively poorly remunerated.[12] There is no doubt that the temple women were not at the centre of the temple organization, either in terms of its ritual or its administrative arrangements.

In fact, besides the contrast between the *devadāsīs*' high social status and economic power on the one hand and their insignificant role in the ritual and administrative life of the temple - in several other respects also there was an ambivalent attitude towards the *devadāsīs* - they received appreciation from the society and

11. *Ibid.*, p. 162.
12. *Ibid.*

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represented auspiciousness par excellence, yet, on the other hand, there arose in the course of time an implied censure and contempt against them. To cite one example to corroborate this aspect, no *devadāsīs*, except those from the Brahmin family, were allowed into the inner sanctum of the Jagannath temple at Puri.

As a matter of fact, whatever the voiced religious reason for the *devadāsī* tradition, it was conscious economic and social motivations, which lay behind this system. Such an ambivalent attitude towards the *devadāsīs* is not surprising given the fact that the *devadāsī* merely represented a badge of fortune, a form of honour managed for civil society by the temple.[13] The Brahmins supported and encouraged this practice because of the obvious pecuniary and other concomitant benefits. The *devadāsīs* were encouraged to select only such patrons who had both social and economic weight. The wealthy and the elite patronized the *devadāsīs* despite the enormous expense it entailed because intimacy with a *devadāsī* demonstrated public success, which visibly marked a man apart from his peers. The fact that the *devadāsīs* were used to cater to the State's interest becomes clear from the fact that their earnings were often collected and taken by the kings. The foreign travellers like Al Beruni and Abdullah Wasaf have testified this fact.

For the *devadāsīs*, the economic and professional benefits arising out of the *devadāsī* system were considerable and most importantly, not lacking in social honour. However, such benefits accruing to the *devadāsīs* were, in the course of time, largely eroded with the gradual degradation of their lot, and a vast majority of them were transformed into one of the most exploited, debased and pitiable sections of the Indian society. In fact, even during the phases when the *devadāsīs* grew in strength, wealth and social status, not all *devadāsīs* were wealthy or well off, and a large number of them led a pathetic life. In the course of time, several factors contributed to the downfall of a large number of *devadāsīs* from the lofty position of the maid

13. *Economic & Political Weekly*, p. 1870.

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servant of the deity to that of the mistress of kings and rulers and the object of sexual pleasures of the rulers, the priests, the elite and even the common men. The process of their degradation was accelerated by the decline in the grant from the state, gradual loss of the temple and the kings as patrons, shrinkage of proceeds from the offerings of the worshippers and the increase in the population of a *devadāsī* family. Thus, in the course of time, the *devadāsīs* lost the social esteem and respect they enjoyed earlier, and a majority of them turned into ordinary courtesans.

The amorous and licentious life of the *devadāsīs* has been depicted by the foreign travellers like Al Beruni, Abu-Zaid, Domino Paes, Abbe Dubois etc. Domino Paes has described them as the women of 'loose character'. Abbe Dubois has made the following observations about them.[14] "All the time which they have to spare in the intervals of the various ceremonies is devoted to infinitely more shameful practices; and it is not an uncommon thing to see even sacred temples converted into mere brothels. They are brought up in this shameful licentious (life) from infancy..." John Shortt not only highlighted the miserable condition of the *devadāsīs* in South India but he has also made the following observations about their exploitation : "As soon as a girl attains maturity, her virginity, if not debauched by the pagoda Brahmins, is sold to outsiders in proportion to the wealth of the party seeking the honor, if such it may be termed, after which she leads a continuous course of prostitution - prostituting her person at random, to all but outcastes, for any trifling sum."

Although the tradition of the *devadāsīs* has almost become extinct today, there still are many good dancers, dance teachers and musicians who owe their skill in these spheres to the *devadāsī* tradition. The *devadāsī's* dance was a sacred tradition. The *Bharatanāṭyam* dance form of today is none other than the extension of yesteryear, the preserve of the much-maligned *devadāsīs*. In this respect, it is noteworthy that the dance of T. Balasaraswati, who herself was a *devadāsī*, continues

14. Shankar Jogan, *op.cit.*, p. 55.

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to be regarded as the ultimate in the expression of the 'traditional' Bharatanāṭyam technique. It is the *devadāsīs* who come to our mind as the custodians of such glorious tradition in the field of art and culture, and as the nurturer of the feelings of reverence for music and dance through hundreds of years. Whatever else may have been said about them, it is undeniable that art was an integral part of their ethos and existence, and as such pure and untainted. It is to them that we owe the survival and preservation of one of the oldest classical dance forms in existence today. There is no doubt that *Bharatanāṭyam* and Oḍissi classical dance forms flourished because of the *devadāsīs* of South India and Orissa.

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DVĪPAVYAVASTHĀ : EVIDENCE OF AWARENESS OF THE MODERN DISCOVERIES DURING THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD

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The manuscript of the *Dvīpavyavasthā* (B.O.R.I. No. 364 of 1879-80) attracted my attention during an inspection of the collection. Physical details of the manuscript are as follows :

Paper	:	Country Paper
Language & Script	:	Sanskrit, *Devanāgarī*
No. of folios	:	5
Dimensions	:	28.2 cm. X 15 cm.
No. of lines	:	12 - 13
Letters per line	:	about 30.

The manuscript does not inform anything regarding the author, the scribe or the place and date of its writing. In his list of the Government manuscripts, S.R. Bhandarkar has remarked that the concerned manuscript was incomplete.[1] On examination of the manuscript, however, this observation does not seem to be correct. The credit of procurement of this manuscript goes to George Bühler.[2] It stands to

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Journal of The Oriental Institute, Vol. LI, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 2001 pp. 95-107.

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1. Bhandarkar, S.R. *A Consolidated Catalogue of the Collection of Manuscripts Deposited in the Deccan College with an Index*, Government of Bombay, 1888, p. 145.
2. Bühler, G. "Two lists of Sanskrit manuscripts together with some remarks on my connection with the search of Sanskrit manuscripts"., *ZDMG,* Vol. 42, 1888, pp. 530-39.

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be the single manuscript of the text.[3] I have, therefore, copied the text and appended the same to this paper.

The *Dvīpavyavasthā* furnishes a brief account of the explorations of the North Pole, the Polar regions, Greenland and such other territories. These explorations were carried out by numerous British, French, Dutch, Danish and Portugese travellers and sailors. The author of the text has mentioned that he was simply rendering the information as it was available to him. He quotes his sources as follows :

(i) तलीयांनपुस्तक (*Geographicas* by Ptolemy ?),

(ii) an anonymous book written by a British on the polar geography,

(iii) वोइस द हीदरोग्राफिकासः - a text on geography.

The author has recorded the names of various sailors, places they visited, dates of some events, etc. He has also attempted to analyse the available information. For determination of space and time he has used both the traditional Indian system (*krośas* for distance, and *ghaṭikās* and *palas* for time) as also the unit of degrees for latitudes.

A free rendering of the text is as follows :[4]

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3. Aufrecht, Theodore., *Catalogus Catalogorum*. Part I, Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1891, and Raja K. Kunjunni. *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Volume 9, University of Madras, 1977, p. 266. Aufrecht has said that the subject of the manuscript was anonymous. He has referred to the manuscript as collected by Kielhorn. (His reference 'P 15' stands for the Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts 1869-78 by Kielhorn.) *The New Catalogus Catalogorum* has carried the same reference. From the date of collection of the manuscript (1879-80) and its incorporation in the list of the manuscripts collected by Bühler, however, it becomes clear that the credit of procurement of this manuscript should go to Bühler and not to Kielhorn.

4. I acknowledge the assistance, in the form of suggestions, extended by my colleague Ms. Rucha Mulay in the translation of the text.

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Salutations to Lord Kṛṣṇa. Let me now write on the composition of the Meru according to the तलीयांनपुस्तक. The land around the (North) Pole is smaller than all islands - How ? - Since no one has seen it properly, it was reported to be small. There are four islands around the Pole. The original author says that a black mountain with the height of 33 *krośas* lies under the Pole amidst these islands. Nineteen marine streams flow in here and disappear underground confluencing into four. From तरंतारीया: comes a five-fold rapid flow and travels towards the Pole. The water of this stream freezes (there) immediately. Now, from ग्रोलांदीया comes a three-fold glacier measuring 37 *krośas*. It remains frozen for three months. The islands falling between the two are inhabited by men four feet tall (Eskimos ?). Some Britisher of औकरस्फोरद् reports that these four streams rapidly flow underground near the Pole. Since all the water cannot disappear, its blocked portion flows back to form whirls-so much so that the whirls can rapidly carry away the boats which happen to sail there. The boats cannot sustain the current due to the lack of strong breezes from the opposite direction. It is astonishing that all this has also been reported by जिनरास्दोकंबेरेस, though he did not visit the places in person. There is a fireland called महापापागाली. Here, in बेयाक gold gets extracted. The lands of सुवेशिया (Sweden ?), लापूनिया and वेग lie in the vicinity of the polar regions, in the North of which the day measures three to four months. All these uninhabited wild lands belong to the king of सुवेशिया. Wild bisons (yalks ?) are tamed here and used for carriage due to absence of oxen. The people here are predominantly fish-eaters. There are found many wild animals. White bears (the polar bears) are hunted. Tails of the जमूसत्व are worn as necklaces. Black hares are found here. People are worshippers of the Sun and other constellations. Christianity does not prevail here. The priests deputed by the king of सुवेशिया (Sweden ?) could not succeed in preaching Christianity due to difference of language. लापूनिया has a frozen sea where vessels cannot penetrate beyond 80° in autumns and winters. A Dutch ship sailed upto 80° and was left with only four persons alive while the others died due to severe cold. Again the Dutch ruler sent ten well-built men for exploration of a small island. Before they succumbed to cold, they reported that the day there was four-month long.

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Now we shall turn to the दीनामार country (दीनामार, डिंगमार = Denmark) which begins (in the South) at 55°. The rest (of the description) is akin to that of सुवेशिया. But notable there is the availability of all the (necessary) commodities. A tiny island, सेलांदीया, measures just 46 *krośas* and has 13 towns of which कुपिता is a (larger) city. This city, with a port owned by a Britisher, falls under the rule of Denmark as do the other islands. सतलांदीया, however, is ruled by इशकोशीया (Visconsin ?). Some people there consume rats and fish. Day there extends upto nineteen hours. Some food, mainly fish, becomes available in फिलांदीया (Finland ?). Britishers and Danish people bring here food, wine etc., and return with garments of straw, dry flesh and white नाज (seal ?). Here the duration of the day is nineteen and a half hours. इसलांदीया (Iceland), the chilly land extending three hundred *krośas*, has a high snow mountain. The हिदूकभूमि, with scanty vegetation, only grasses growing at the feet of the numerous hills, has no big city. People, on the contrary, reside in rock-shelters owing to absence of wood for construction. Ample sulphur is found here, as also great number of white falcons and wild animals. In the north of that, between 65° and 69° the day tends to be of 24 hours while the Sun travels in Cancer. Duration of night, then, remains only a couple of *palas*. While the Sun enters Capricorn, the scene is the opposite. From a mountain here emerges fire blaze. In गुरालंदीया (= ग्रौन्लांद = Greenland)[5] people consume dry fish and wild animals. A burning mountain is situated here, as also a hot geyser with water so hot wherein food can easily be cooked. Between 66° and 77° the day extends upto a couple of months. In the areas adjoining to the Pole, however, a day extends upto three months and the winter (night) nine months. Dew (snow ?) immediately solidifies into ice. The composition (geology) of इकारीया is akin to that of गुरालंद. None except a Dutch vessel has sailed here beyond 80°.

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5. Greenland is called Graunland in the Danish language. (*Encyclopedia Americana*, Entry on Greenland). A search of the synonymity of the names गुरालंदीया, ग्रौन्लांद and the like, however, needs to be taken up separately.

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Now the किथ (= कथि ? = ancient name of China) lands, according to an English book, can be described as follows : A small island is situated near 66 $\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ with an ocean of water in its south and that of ice in the north. It is named as इसलांद in the Danish language, while others call it इसलांदीया. It was seen for the first time by a pyrate named नादोक for his boat was carried to this small island by a storm. Since it had ice all-over, hence the name Iceland. It was colonised by the Crown of नुरवेग (Norway), and now belongs to the Danish. People from Denmark, England and those from बृहद्- and लघु-अलैमान and विशकाईन are frequent visitors of this island. They bring with them dry bread, beverages, metals and cotton garments. From Iceland they carry woodfish and other varieties of fish, fish-oil, leather, sulphur, and soft wood garments (garments of bark ?). These people (inhabitants of Iceland) use it (the bark) for garments. There are ports like स्तरोम, वार्सो (Warsaw ?),सवैक्, कैबल्लवैक, बुसलांद, ओरबाक्, होलाहाफ्, फोर् , etc. बैलस्तात् has a post of (some) king, the administrative set-up of which should be referred to in other books.

In the north-(north-)east is situated Greenland at 76°. It was visited by the Britishers in 1553. The Dutch came in 1596. The British and the Dutch are still in dispute over this island. ग्रैन्लांद is situated near this island.[6] Only mountains can be beheld towards the Pole. There are located numerous लुंगतिs and गिलोदीs (probably strange animals ?), and large fish are found on the seashore that are hunted every year by people of the vicinity. A small island in its north, व्यारइसलांद , is now named as चरी in the memory of a merchant चरीफराशी who was deputed there by the British Crown and succumbed to strong cold. A smaller island नवीनसमला, visited by an astrologer, lies in the east of this island. The astrologer attempted to reach China by this route. He travelled a lot. But his vessel could not proceed because extreme cold weakened his health and froze the route of the vessel. Thus he returned to लापूनिया

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6. This information seems to possess some lacunae.

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along a stream (glacier ?) and to his country by a land-route. A Portugese named उगोविलोवि, with some individuals, proceeded towards the pole by way of the frozen seas. Due to extreme cold and snow none could return. In 1580 one (merchant ?) कार्लुसूयकमन् and (another), अरतुरपैत् , sailed near the Pole in search of China in separate vessels. They reached upto about 80° and succumbed to the frozen ocean. In 1585, a Portugese named जुहानस दावि (Johannes Davis) sailed to the Pole upto 66°. He held that there would be a further path. He (however) returned from there. Again in the next year he went upto 55° and had to return due to a hindrance caused by theft (piracy ?). In 1587, he again reached 76°, and further to Greenland upto 86°. There he saw the unfrozen sea and a good long path. But his sailors were weakened and sick due to cold. Due to the strong ocean current his vessel was carried back upto 73°. They all returned boarding a couple of fishing boats that had sailed there.[7]

Arrangement of the Polar lands has been described in details in another book named वोइस द हीदरोग्राफिकासः. A Britisher, इस्तेफन् बैनतू saw the चरीइसलांद in 1603. हंट्रिक् कुद्सन् sailed towards the Pole upto 81° and (all of them) returned due to cold-stroke. जुनस् पोल and तोमस् एज् proceeded ahead of Greenland for exploration of the Polar lands. तोमस् एज् passed away on a small island they visited. Thus the island was named एजेस् इसलांद . [The manuscript ends here with thirteen marks of double-*daṇḍa* (॥)]

The anonymous author of the text has made a good attempt to converse with his readers. This is with the questions he places in his text. He also seems to have applied his own logic while writing. A good example of this lies in the first paragraph itself which reads : तत्र ध्रुवपरितः भूरस्ति इयं सर्वेभ्यो द्वीपेभ्यो लघ्वी० कथं लघ्व्यस्ति यतः सा सम्यक्तया केनापि नालोकिता० अतोऽनुमानेन लघ्वी कथिता । (The land around the (North) Pole is smaller

7. This seems to corroborate the account of the explorations given by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and *Encyclopaedia Americana* in their entries on the North Pole, polar explorations, Greenland and others.

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than all islands - How ? -- Since no one has seen it properly, it was reported to be small). The author has also given a good etymology of 'Iceland.'

Since Bühler does not seem to have reported this manuscript collection (1879-80) in details[8] except for the lists referred to earlier, one can only state that the manuscript was procured from Gujarat or Rajputana.[9] Regarding the date of the manuscript, P.K. Gode, in his notes for publication of a descriptive catalogue, has commented : 'appears to be old'. (This comment of Gode, in his own hand, precedes 1961. It becomes important that even to him the manuscript appeared old). If we suppose that the manuscript was written about 50 to 100 years before it was collected by Bühler, the real importance of the manuscript becomes clear. This importance tends to increase with the rise in its antiquity. Some author (probably one connected with a *pāṭhaśālā* affiliated to a princely state) was aware of the new discoveries and translated the explorers' accounts from European languages to Sanskrit is a fact proved by this manuscript. It should be treated as an evidence of diffusion of knowledge during the early colonial period. A detailed comparative study of this account and the historical and modern literature is a topic of a separate paper. It is solicited that some geographer should take up the same.

8. Belvalkar, S.K. "A list of our printed catalogues and reports", (in) *Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collection of Manuscripts*, Vol. I, Part I, Government Central Press, Bombay, 1916, pp. xliii-xlv.
9. Bühler, *Op. cit.* [The scribal trait of writing ञ as ञ्ञ also suggests the same].

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APPENDIX

Text of the *Dvīpavyavasthā* (B.O.R.I. No. 364 of 1879-80)

पो. १५ ग्रं. ४७

श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥[1]॥ अथ **तलीयांनपुस्तकानुसारेण** मेरोः संस्था लिख्यते ॥ तत्र ध्रुवपरितः भूरस्ति इयं सर्वेभ्यो द्वीपेभ्यो लघ्वी० कथं लघ्व्यस्ति यतः सा सम्यक्तया केनापि नालोकिता० अतोऽनुमानेन लघ्वी कथिता ॥ अत्र ध्रुवस्य परितः द्वीपचतुष्टयमस्ति० अत्र मूलपुस्तककारो वादति[2] यत् ध्रुवाधः एकशामशैलः उछ्रायेण त्रयस्त्रिंशत्क्रोशपरिमितोस्ति० अस्यैव परितः इदं द्वीपचतुष्टयमस्ति, एषु द्वीपेषु एकोनविंशतिमुखैः कृत्वा समुद्रजलमायाति, पश्चात्तज्जलं प्रवाहचतुष्टयात्मकं भूत्वा ध्रुवाधो भूम्यंतर्गच्छति, अथ प्रवाहचतुष्टयमध्ये यः तरंतारीयाः प्रदेशात् पंचमुखात्मकः प्रवाह आयाति सः ह प्रवाहमार्गसंकीर्णतया अतिशीघ्रं ध्रुवाभिमुखो गछति तस्य वेगातिशयवशादेव

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1. The following scribal traits pertain to the manuscript :
   - (a) Inconsistant (and sometimes unnecessary) usage of 'o', '।', and '॥', (Commas inserted by the editor to separate sentences.)
   - (b) 'श' instead of 'श्य',
   - (c) 'छ्' instead of 'च्छ्',
   - (d) use of *anusvāra* instead of *parasavarṇa*,
   - (e) omition of *avagraha*,
   - (f) 'सत्व' instead of 'सत्त्व',
   - (g) 'स्वेत' instead of 'श्वेत',
   - (h) 'र' instead of 'ऋ',
   - (i) 'श्' instead of 'ष्', ('मुशक' instead of 'मूषक',)
   - (j) 'मछ' instead of 'मत्स्य',
   - (k) 'ष्ट' instead of 'ष्ठ',
   - (l) 'ग्रहित्वा/गृहित्वा' and 'ग्रहीत' instead of 'गृहित्वा' and 'गृहीत',
   - (m) 'शुक' instead of 'शुष्क',
   - (n) Separate indication (without conjunction) of consonants in *saṃyuktākṣaras*.
2. वदति

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तज्जलं तुषारवशेन हिमवद्घनं जायते ॥ अथ **ग्रोलांदीयासमसूत्रात्** मुखत्रयात्मकः एकप्रवाह आयाति, तस्य घनीभूतो प्रवाहमार्गः सप्तत्रिंशत्क्रोशात्मकोऽस्ति[3] ॥ अयं प्रवाह[4] प्रतिवर्षं मासत्रयपर्यंतं हिमबद्धो जायते, अथ अनयोः प्रवाहयोर्मध्ये यो द्वीपोस्ति तस्मि{1a}न्द्वीपे पादचतुष्टयप्रमाणाः मनुष्याः संति ॥ अथ **औकस्स्फोरद्वासी** कश्चित् अंगरेजो वदति ॥ यत् इदं प्रवाहचतुष्टयं अतिशीघ्रतया ध्रुवकेंद्रे भूम्यंतर्गंतुमिछति ॥ तत्र अवकाशाल्पतया बहुजलेन एककाले भूम्यंतर्गंतुं न शक्यते ॥ अतोवरुद्धजलं आवर्त्तरूपं भूत्वा अतिवेगेन विपरीतं चलति ॥ तथा चलति यथा तत्स्थलप्राप्तामपि नौकां घटिकामात्रेण बहुदूरप्रदेशे विपरीतां नयति ॥ अस्मिन्प्रदेशे वायुः प्रबलो नास्ति यद्बलेन नौकया तत्र स्थातुं शक्यते ॥ इदं ध्रुवाश्चर्यं यथा मया उक्तं तथैव **जिनरास्दोकंबेरेसैनापि** उक्तं ॥ अथ ध्रुवभूमौ अधुना दृष्टं परंतु तन्मध्ये गत्वा सम्यक्तया न दृष्टं ॥ अस्य प्रदेशस्य नाम **म...पापागाली०**[5] इयं वह्निभूमिरस्ति, अत्र **बेयाकभूमौ** सुवर्णं निःसारति ॥[6] वेगाख्यप्रदेशेन सहैकसूत्रे संति ॥ पुनः **सुवेशीयाख्यप्रदेशोपरि लापूनीयाख्यप्रदेशाः** संति ॥ एते प्रोक्ताहोरात्रवृत्तोदरवृत्तस्य भूपरिधौ लग्ना एव संति ॥ एषामुत्तरप्रांतेषु त्रिमासात्मकं वा चतुर्मासात्मकं दिनं भवति ॥ एते सर्वे प्रदेशाः अरण्यस्था ग्रहरहिताः **सुवेशीयाःधीशाधीनाः** संति ॥ अत्र वृषभा न संति ॥ किंच वृषभस्थाने अरण्यगवया लोकैः{1b} पाल्यंते ॥ तेषु भारवाहादिकं स्थापयंति ॥ अत्रत्यलोका मत्स्याहारा एव संति, अत्रारण्यसत्त्वाधिक्यं ॥ अत्र स्वेतभज्जु(ल्लू ?)काः संतिः ॥ एषामेव मृगया अत्रत्यैः क्रियते ॥ अत्र जमूसत्वपुछा एव लोकैः ग्रैवेयत्वेन धार्यते ॥ अत्र शामशशकाः भवंति, अत्र इसाधर्मस्य प्रचारो नास्ति ॥ किंच ॥ सूर्योपासकाः लोका तथान्यत्तारकोपासकाश्च लोकाः संति ॥ अथ च तत्र तद्धर्मभ्रंशनार्थं इसाधर्मप्रचारार्थं च **सुवेशियाधीशेन** पादर्याख्या मनुष्याः प्रेषिताः तेषां शिक्षार्थं च, परं च ते पादरिभाषानबोधादशिक्षिता एव संति, तेषां च भाषा पादरिजनैरपि न ज्ञाता ॥ तस्मात्तत्रेसाधर्मप्रसंगो नास्ति ॥ अथ च **लापूनियाख्यप्रदेशाग्रे** हिमसमुद्रप्रदेशोऽस्ति, तत्र हेमंततौ शीतबाहुल्यात् हेमाधिक्यं भवति, तत्र च तत्र च मो११२०[7] अशीत्यक्षांशादुपरि पोता न चलंति, अशीत्यक्षांशपर्यंतं **उलंदीशाख्यस्य** पोतो गतः, अग्रे गंतुं अशक्तः, परं च पोतमध्ये चत्वार एव मनुष्या अवशिष्टा अन्ये सर्वे मृताः शीताधिक्यात्, तत्रैकः क्षुद्रद्वीपस्तैर्मनुष्यैर्दृष्टः, पुनः **उलंदीशाख्येन** स क्षुद्रद्वीपो श्रुतः, तत्र महांतो दश मनुष्याः तद्द्वीपवासार्थं प्रेशिताः, तत्र वसित्वा[8] उदंतो लेख्या

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3. ...त्रिंशत्...
4. ...प्रवाहः
5. महापापागाली ?
6. निःसरति
7. The words 'तत्र च' repeated; the last 'o' might be used for indicating the superscribed degree sign - repeated further.

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इति तत्रापि दश मनुष्याः{2a} शीताधिक्यान्मृताः, शुश्काश्च जाताः परं च तैरेका वार्त्ता लिखिता अत्र चतुर्मासात्मकं दिनं भवतीति, अथ **दीनामाराख्यदेशसंस्थोच्यते**, अस्यारंभस्तु ७७०[8] पंचपंचाशदक्षांशप्रदेशादस्ति, अत्र वृत्तांतः **सुवेशीयाख्यप्रदेशवदस्ति**, अत्र वृत्तांतः सुवेशीयाख्यप्रदेशवदस्ति[9], परं चात्र सर्वं वस्तु लभ्यत इति विशेषः ॥ अत्र **सेलांदीयाख्यक्षुद्रद्वीपोऽस्ति**, स च षट्चत्वारिंशत्क्रोशैर्विस्तीर्णोस्ति, अस्यांतस्त्रयोदशपुर्यः संति, तत्रैका पुरी महती **कुपिताख्यास्ति**, अंगरेजव्यापारिणो बंदरस्थानमस्ति [10], परं चाधिपत्यं **दीनामारकेशस्यास्ति** । अन्येपि क्षुद्रद्वीपास्तदाधीना एव संति, परं च **सतलांदीयाख्यद्वीपे इशकोशीयाख्यस्य** राज्यमस्ति, तत्र शीताधिक्यं, स्तोकाश्च मुशकमछान्खादंति, तत्र दिनमेकोनविंशतिहोरात्मकं ४७।३०[12] भवति, परं च **फिलांदीयाख्यद्वीपे** अन्नं किंचित् भवति, मत्स्याधिक्यं तत्र **अंगरीजा दीनामारकीयाश्च** लोका अन्नं द्राक्षामद्यादिकं ग्रहीत्वा आगत्य पुनस्ततः तृणवस्त्रशुश्कमांसादिकं स्वेतबाजादिकं[13] गृहीत्वा गछंति, अत्र दिनं सार्धैकोनविंशतिहोरात्मकं, **इसलांदीयाख्यद्वीपस्तु** शतत्रयक्रोशायतोस्ति, शीताधिक्यं, अत्रैकशैलो {2b}महानस्ति, अस्योपरि हिमाधिक्यं, **हिदूकभूमिः**, हिमशैला बहवः, वृक्षाल्पता, शैलमूलेषु त्रृणाधिक्यं,[14] महत्पुरं नास्ति, किंच शैलकंदरासु मनुष्याः वसंति, गृहनिर्माणार्थं काष्टं नास्ति, गंधकाधिक्यं, स्वेतश्येना बहवः संति, अरण्यसत्त्वाधिक्यं, तस्मादुत्तरस्यां दिशि २१० पंचषष्ट्यक्षांशप्रदेशेथवैकोनसप्तत्यक्षांशप्रदेशे २६६ दिनं महत् भवति, चतुर्विंशतिहोरात्मकं ६०[15] कर्के सूर्योऽस्तं नयति, रात्रिस्तु पलद्वयात्मिका, मकरस्थे रवौ तु रात्रिश्चतुर्विंशतिहोरात्मिका दिनं पलद्वयात्मकं, अत्र द्वीपे एकः शैलोस्ति, ततो वह्निज्वालं निःसरति । अथ **गुरालंदीयाख्यद्वीपोस्ति**, अत्रवासिनो जनाः शुश्कमछान् तथारण्यसत्वान् भक्षयंति, अत्राप्येकः शैलोऽस्ति, ततोऽपि वह्निर्निःसरति, अत्र निर्झरश्चैकोऽस्ति,[16] तत्र जलमुष्णं निःसरति, तथोष्णं भवति यथा क्षिप्तमन्नं पचति, अत्र प्रदेशे षट्षष्ट्यक्षांशात् ३२४ सप्तसप्तत्यक्षांशपर्यंतं १७८ सार्द्धमासद्वयात्मकानि दिनानि भवंति, ध्रुवनिकटे तु त्रिमासात्मकं दिनं भवति । अथ चात्र नवमासपर्यंतं शीतं भवति, तुषारस्तु भूम्युपरि घनीभूतो भवति । अथ **ईकारीयाख्यद्वीपगुरालंदद्वीपस्य** च संस्थैकैवास्ति, अथ च अशी {3a}त्यक्षांशपर्यंतं

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8. उषित्वा
9. ५५° ?
10. Matter repeated in the right margin.
11. Significant usage of the non-Sanskrit word बंदर...
12. *Ghaṭikā* measure 19 Hrs. x 2.5 (*Ghaṭikās*/hour) = 47.5
13. Significant usage of the non-Sanskrit word बाज
14. तृणाधिक्यं
15. *Ghaṭikā* measure -24 Hrs. x 2.5 (*Ghaṭikās*/hour) = 60
16. The letter झ in the word निर्झर pertains to the Gujarati script - ઝ. This is the case with many numerals as well. It might throw a dim light on the obscure provenance of the ms.

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११२० उलंदेजपोतो गतः, अग्रे कोऽपि न गतः ॥ ॥अथ **अंगरेजपुस्तकानुसारेण** मेरोरभितः **कथिप्रदेशानां**[17] संस्थोच्यते, तत्र ध्रुवसमीपे सार्द्धषष्टिपलांशजभूपरिधिप्रदेशे पो० २३१ एकः क्षुद्रद्वीपोऽस्ति, अस्य दक्षिणपार्श्वे जलसमुद्रोऽस्ति, उत्तरपार्श्वे हिमबद्धसमुद्रोऽस्ति ॥ अस्य द्वीपस्य नाम **दीनामारकभाषया इसलांद** इति । अन्येषां भाषया **इसलांदीया** इति । इदं पूर्वं कैरपि न दृष्टं न श्रुतं च, इदं एकेन **नादोकसंज्ञेन** समुद्रचौरेण दृष्टं । कथं दृष्टमिति ॥ तस्य चौरस्य नौका महाप्रचंडवायुना बलात्कारेण इतस्ततो भ्रामिता दैववशात् तस्मिन् क्षुद्रद्वीपे गता० तत्र तेन चौरेण तस्य नाम **इसलांद** इति स्थापितं, इसशब्देन तुषारः लांदशब्देन देशः **तुषारदेशः** इति अन्वर्थकसंज्ञा कृता ॥ इदं स्थलं पूर्वं **नुरवेगाधीशेन** वासितं, सांप्रतं तु **दीनामारकाधीशस्य** आज्ञाधीनमस्ति । अस्मिन् स्थले **दीनामारकीया** लोकाः तथा **अंगलीसलोका बृहदलैमानदेशीया** लोका तथा **लघुअलैमानदेशीया** लोका आगछंति गछंति च, तथा च **विशकाइन्देशीया** लोका आगछंति गछंति, एते लोका स्वदेशात् एतानि वस्तू {3b}नि गृहीत्वा गछंति ॥ तथा हि शुश्करोटिका तथा पानद्रव्यं तथा लोहताम्रकर्पासवस्त्रादीनि **इसलांदीयाप्रदेशात्** एतानि वस्तूनि गृहित्वा गछंति, तथा हि काष्ठसदृशमत्स्यः तथा अन्यज्जातीयमत्स्यः, मत्स्यतैलं सलोमचर्म इति पुनः चर्म० ॥ गंधककोमलकाष्ठजवस्त्रादीनि । ते लोका वस्त्रस्थाने व्यावहरंति ॥ अथास्मिन्प्रदेशे एतानि बंदरस्थानानि संति ॥ यथा **स्तरोम्वार्सोसवैक्कैबल्लवैक् ॥ बुसलांद० ओरबाक्० होलाहाफ० फोर** इ० अस्य समीपे० **बैलस्तात्पुरे** अधीशस्य स्थानमस्ति ॥ अस्य व्यवहारसंस्था पुस्तकांतरात् ज्ञेया ॥ अथ अस्मात् प्रदेशात् उत्तरदिशि इषत्पूर्वाश्रितायां ॥[18] षट्सप्ततिपलांशप्रदेशे ग्रौन्लांददेशोस्ति,[19] अस्य प्रारंभे सप्तषष्टिपलांशाः समाप्ताः ॥ अशीतिपलांशाः, अयं प्रदेशः **अंगरेजदेशाधीशमनुष्यैः** ॥ प्रथमं दृष्टः ॥ इसासन्न १५५३ समये ॥ पुनः बलंदेजदेशाधीशमनुष्यैः सन्न ॥ १५९६ समये दृष्टः, अद्यावधि तयोः परस्परं विसंवाद एवास्ति ॥ अथास्य {4a}देशस्य समीपे अन्यत् द्वीपमस्ति, तस्य नाम **ग्रैन्लांद** इति ॥ अस्मात् प्रदेशात् ध्रुवदिशि शैला एव दृश्यंते ॥ अस्मिन् प्रदेशे कस्मिंश्चित् स्थले **लुंगतिसंज्ञसत्वा**[20] बहवः संति, तथा च **गिलोदीसत्वा** बहवः संति समुद्रतीरे महांतो मत्स्याः संति ॥ एतन्मत्स्यवधार्थं तदासन्नप्रदेशीया लोकाः प्रतिवर्षं गछंति ॥ मत्स्यास्तथा महांत संति येषां प्रमाणं वक्तुं न शक्यते ॥ एतत्प्रदेशस्य उत्तरदिशि एकः क्षुद्रद्वीपः ॥ **व्यारईसलांदसंज्ञोऽस्ति**, सांप्रतं अस्य नाम **चरी०** इति, यतः **चरीफराशीनामा** व्यापारी ॥ तत्स्थलदर्शनार्थं **अंगरेजाधीशेन** प्रेषितः, तत्रा[21] गत्वा शीतबाहुल्यात् स मृतः ॥

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17. Cathey - China ?
18. ईषत्पूर्वाश्रितायां
19. Danish name for Greenland
20. बुंगति...-- influence of the Gujarātī script ?
21. तत्र

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तस्मात् **अंगरेजाधीशेन चरीति** ॥ तत्प्रदेशस्य नाम स्थापितं ॥ अस्मात् पूर्वदिशि अन्यत्क्षुद्रद्वीपोस्ति, तस्य नाम **नवीनसमला**[२२] इति ॥ तस्मिन् प्रदेशे समुद्रदेशाभिज्ञो एकः महान् ज्योतिवित्[२३] गतः ॥ तेन ज्योतिर्विदा अनेनैव मार्गेण चीनमहाचीनप्रदेशं गंतुं उद्योग[२४] कृतः, कीयत्प्रदेशावधि[२५] स प्रचलितः ॥ अग्रे घनीभूतसमुद्रवशात् पोतो न चलितः, अतितुषारवशात् शीतबाहुल्यात् {4b} शरीरमपि अशक्तं जातं ॥ तस्मात् ततः परावृत्य महानदीमार्गेण सः **लापुनीयाप्रदेशे** समागतः ॥ ततः पृथ्वीमार्गेण स्वदेशे गतः इति ॥ अथ **लापुनीयाप्रदेशात् उगोविलोविसंज्ञः** ॥ कश्चित् फिरंगी कतिपयजनान् गृहीत्वा हिमसमुद्रैः स्थलदर्शनार्थं ध्रुवदिशि प्रचलितः ॥ तत्र अतिशीतवशात् तुषारबाहुल्याच्च सर्वे मनुष्याः मृताः, एकोपि न समागतः ॥ सन्ने १५८० समये एकः **अरतुरपैतद्वितीयः कार्लुसूयकमन्०** द्वौ अधीशौ पोतद्वयं आरुह्य ध्रुवासन्नप्रदेशे[२६] **चीनमहाचीनमार्गशोधार्थं** निःसरितौ,[२७] तौ अशीतिअक्षांशसमीपप्रदेशावधि प्राप्तौ ॥ तस्मिन् प्रदेशे घनीभूतसमुद्रेण तयोः प्राणौ ग्रहीतौ ॥ सन्ने १५८५ समये **जुहानसदाविसंज्ञः** फिरंगी ध्रुवासन्नमार्गेण **चीनमहाचीनमार्गशोधार्थं** षट्षष्टिअंशपर्यंतं गतः, तेन तत्र अनुमितं यत् अग्रेपि मार्गो भविष्यति ॥ पुनः तस्मात् प्रदेशात् शीतसमये सः स्वदेशं गतः ॥ पुनः अयमेव फिरंगी द्वितीयवर्षे पंचपंचाशत् अंशपर्यंतं गतः तत्र किंचित् तस्य चौर्यादिकं जातं तस्मात् विघ्नवशात् **परावर्त्तत्य**[२८] स्वगृहे समागतः ॥ {5a} पुनः अयमेव फिरंगी तृतीयवारं प्रचलितः ॥ सन्न १५८७ समये स उत्तरदिशि षट्सप्तति-अक्षांशदेशं प्राप्तः ॥ पुनः तस्मात् प्रदेशात् **ग्रीलांदतीरे** तीरे भूत्वा षडशीति अक्षांशदेशं प्राप्तः, तत्र समुद्रो घनीभूतो न दृष्टः ॥ मार्गोपि पुष्कलो दृष्टः, परंतु बहुशीतवशात् पोतचालका मनुष्याः बलरहिताः जाताः, अतिव्याकुलाश्च जाताः, जलवेगः प्रबलः दक्षिणदिशि स्थितः, तेन प्रबलजलप्रवाहेन प्रवाहेन[२९] नौका त्रिसप्तति-अंशप्रदेशं नीता, तत्र तुषारसमुद्रप्रदेशे अन्यौ द्वौ पोतौ मत्स्यमृगयार्थं आगतौ स्थितौ० तौ आरुह्य ते निर्बला लोकाः स्वदेशं गताः ॥ ॥ ध्रुवासन्नप्रदेशस्य द्वीपव्यवस्था विशदतया पुस्तकांतरे अस्ति, पुस्तकस्य नाम० **वोइस द हीदरोग्राफीकासः**, सन्ने १६०३ समये **इस्तेफन्बैनतूअंगरेजमनुष्येण चरीइसलांदप्रदेशो** दृष्टः ॥ सन्ने १६०८ समये

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22. Newfoundland ?
23. ज्योतिर्वित्
24. उद्योगः
25. कियत्प्रदेशावधि
26. ध्रुवासन्नप्रदेशे
27. निःसृतौ
28. परावर्त्य--परावृत्य
29. प्रवाहेण -- word repeated

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हंट्रिककुत्सन्संज्ञः ध्रुवं प्रति गतः ॥ एकाशीति-अंशदेशं प्राप्तः, पर्वताः दृष्टाः, शीतोपहता[30] सर्वे शीघ्रं पलायिताः ॥ **जुनस्पोलतोमस्एजे** द्वौ ध्रुवप्रदेशदर्शनार्थं प्रचलितौ, तौ **ग्रींलांदप्रदेशात्** किंचित् अग्रे गतौ, तत्र एकः क्षुद्रद्वीपो दृष्टः, तत्र **तोमस्एजो** मृतः, तस्मात् तद्वीपस्य[31] नाम **एजस्इसलांद** इति कृतं ॥ ॥

॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥

॥ ॥ {5b}[32]

✣ ✣ ✣ ✣ ✣

30. शीतोपहताः

31. तद्द्वीपस्य

32. I acknowledge the assistance extended by my colleague Ms. Amruta Natu in reading a proof of this text.

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POLYTHEISM, MONISM AND RATIONAL TEMPER IN PHILOSOPHICAL TRADITIONS IN GUJARATI LITERATURE†

HARSIDDH M. JOSHI*

I

Gujarati Literature is rich and prodigious in philosophical and religious thought. This can be perceptibly observed while going through the poetic, literary, classical and folklore literature of the last five hundred years of its medieval and modern history. Gujarati is a dialect of ancient Prakrit language and certain Jain thinkers have written important literature in Prakrit during thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Because of its vicinity with sea and land abounding in rivers and mountains, its inhabitants were influenced by mystery of nature, soul and God. Its invincibility was retained for a long time by its native races and people gifted by strength and valour.

This is true not only of Gujarat but it is true of Indian Culture and civilization which is both religious and philosophical in its essence and core. The fact that it has survived for the last five thousands years and more, shows its vitality and fertility. Its impact on the culture and spirit of Gujarat is potent and lasting. The devotional poem of Narasinh Mehta ,"*Vaiṣṇavajana* is he who pines for benevolence and for betterment of other miserable and griefstricken" was made world-wide prayer-song by Mahatma Gandhi. This shows the inner spiritual and more vitality and power of poetry to enhance and regenerate the human soul. The term 'Religion' is of course

Journal of The Oriental Institute, Vol. LI, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 2001 pp. 109-137.

† Paper presented at National Seminar on 'Philosophical Foundations in Regional Languages of India', Organised by Indian Council of Philosophical Research, New Delhi, 24-27 Sept., 2001.

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having multiple imports. However, if religion is understood in its operational sense, that of religiosity and life-orientation then there have been saints, mystics, thinkers and such poets who have lived religion and risen to the height of spiritual life. Historically it may be observed that when Lord Kṛṣṇa left Mathura he came to Saurashtra and he visited both Somanath as well as Dwarika and finally made Dwarika his capital town where thousands of *Yādavas* lived with him. The image of Lord Kṛṣṇa with *Gopīs* has left an indelible print on the subsequent mind of the people of Gujarat. The memory is still preserved in the classical as well as folklore literature in Gujarat.

The land of Gujarat is inhabited by several people who have immigrated from other countries such as Arbia, Iran, Greece, ancient Assyria, Babylonia, Africa and Chaldea. So the people are having mixed social customs, religious festivities, worship and way of life. When one reads common events as well as the literary accounts of different poets and literature one observes that in common man's mind it was polytheism which was reigning. As there is an anecdote to the effect that when Britishers arranged fixing of mile-stones in nineteenth century on highways then common people in the country coloured them in saffron and made them in the image of Hanumān. As there are two main traditions of worship in India, Lord Kṛṣṇa and Lord Śīva, similarly there is worship of Rāma, Nārāyaṇa, Hanumān and Gaṇeśa, Lakṣmī and Ambā. During religious festivals many common castes, groups and natives come together in certain temples and worship certain deity. Common people believe in idol-worship. Polytheism is so much rooted in the minds of common people that they hardly question the origin and form of the idols. Akhaji (1600-1655), a poet of seventeenth century, questions the truth of prevalent polytheism, "What is this talk of many Gods ?" Narasinh Mehta also tells us regarding polytheistic attitude of the people, 'People start worshipping any God and Goddess according to their inclination' (*jene je game tene pūje*). In Dwarika as well as in Somanath the

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root cause of looting the temple by foreigners has been the lure of gold, valuables and luxurious decoration. However, its sanctity has been the trust of the common people in the truth of idols. Truth of idol-worship has made an impact upon Jainism also. One of its sects '*Śvetāmbara*' and '*Pūjāvāsī*' have erected temples of Tīrthaṅkaras in certain cities and upon certain mountains in Gujarat. Jainas are polytheistic in their belief in Gods. However, persons such as Śrī Kānajī Swāmī in Songadh have questioned the truth of idol-worship and have emphasized upon the reality of pure self and soul.

Besides the worship of idols in certain places where the goddess is worshipped such as Ambā, Bahucarā, Cāmuṇḍā, certain animals are killed and they are offered in sacrifice as oblation by common people for propitiation of goddesses. There are unique festivals for worship and celebration of Goddesses such as Ambā, Kālī, Cāmuṇḍā and Lakṣmī in Gujarat continuing for nine days during the last month, Aśvina of Vikram Year. In every village and city of Gujarat and where-ever Gujarati family is living either in the country or abroad, there is a special festival in which people keep earthen lamps round the idol of mother goddess and they dance collectively round the idol of Aṁbā, Kālī or Durgā for nine days called *Navarātri garabā*. It is difficult to say when the worship of Mother-goddess started in Gujarat. However, it has started with the gathering of Āhira community and the growth of Yādava community which enhanced the memory of Lord Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and the earlier festival of collective dance in Mathura and Vrindavan where Lord Kṛṣṇa danced with Gopīs before he came to Dwarika. It may be the remnant of the gopī dance which was played there in ancient times.

In this context the name of poet Dayārāma (1777-1853) who lived in Chandod near Baroda may be mentioned. He was a follower of *Puṣṭimārga* of Śrīmad Vallabhācārya and he wrote devotional poetry admiring Lord Kṛṣṇa. The '*Garabī*'

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of Dayārāma is sung by large number of women of Gujarat during *Navarātri* festival. Śrī Dayārāma has written about forty five and more number of works especially in Vraja language of Hindi. It is a mixture of devotion and *Śṛṅgāra* and in this context he has written *Rasika-Rañjana* as well as *Rasika-Vallabha*. Dayārāma has attempted to formulate the philosophy of *Śuddhādvaita* wherein he has advocated devotion to god as the most valuable and fruitful offering of human endeavour. Soul is not identical but it is a part of God. Soul aspires to devote and consecrate his love and surrender to almighty power of the world. Dayārāma is monist and therefore he holds nature to be '*Māyā*' of *Brahman* which is separate and yet inborn part of *Brahman*. In order to let the beings and creatures of the world be lured into the net of nature it creates *Māyā* where he remains away from it but he lets others be deluded by it. It is named as '*Aja*' and hence *Brahman* is named as *Ajapati*. As it is known, the distinction between *Vidyā* and *Avidyā* has been made since *Īśa Upaniṣad* and Dayārāma holds that self of individual is enveloped by *Avidyā*. Dayārāma refutes the nature of *Māyā* as held in *Advaita Vedānta* wherein it is associated with falsity and falsehood. Dayārāma thinks that one can achieve liberation by complete devotion to Lord Kṛṣṇa.

As for common people and those who are imitating customs, popular rituals and sectarian religion, the polytheism has sway over their minds. However, those who rise above customs and social usages, there is the ultimately real which may be named as supreme nature, God or creator of the world. It may be regarded as either Monotheism or Monism. This distinction being largely dependent upon separation among three entities such as nature, self and God or held as the Absolute or Brahman. At time it is said that *Brahman* is the only Reality and nature or world is partly real, illusory or unreal.

During the course of poetry or prose in modern times, with regard to the nature of the Absolute when it is held as ultimately real, there are two main views

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expressed whether such Absolute is personal '*Saguṇa*' or impersonal '*Nirguṇa*' or whether it is both as said in *Gītā* as '*Puruṣottama*'. The opposition between the status of either personal or impersonal is largely dependent upon the issue of *Māyā* which historically in Indian Philosophy is at times maintained either as illusory or real nature or as power of God or as partly real, appearance and as principle of creation. In Gujarati literature such a treatment of *Māyā* starts from the poetry of Narsinh Mehta (1418-1480) and passing through poets such as Akhājī, Dādu, Ravi, Bhāṇa, Niranta, Swāmī Niścalānanda, Prītama and in modern poets such as Rajendra Shah and Makarand Dave.

Long before Swāmī Dayānanda criticised idol-worship, casteism, polytheism, superstition and ritual practices it was poet Akhāji who opposed idol worship in his works such as '*Anubhavabindu*', '*Akhe-gītā*', '*Chappā*' '*Guruśiṣya-saṁvāda*' and others wherein he has philosophically shown sometimes *Ajātavāda, Vivartavāda, Brahmavāda, Adhyāsavāda* and he has attempted to argue with help of the several analogies, examples and images. He starts with theistic worship of God and ends in Absolutistic nature of the Real. Like Gauḍapāda, he says that nobody is bound and nobody is free. He writes, 'There was a fool who had habit of worshipping as many Gods as there are stones, he used to take bath in each pond of water and pluck each leaf thinking it as Tulsi leaf and yet he did not attain knowledge of *Brahman.*'

Like Gauḍapāda the grand-teacher of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, it appears that Akhā held the view of *Ajātavāda* according to which nothing is created and there is nothing like liberation. In his work, '*Anubhavabindu*' Akhā writes, "It remained as it was, Akhā, nothing has happened, Ānandaghana itself in its own form has not seen anything." (Anu. 31).

As long as one is on the plane of thought he cannot go beyond the plane of time, space and causation. Various theories have been set up to explain the cause

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of the world, but none of them has been fully accepted by all. According to the theist, this variegated world with all its order and regularity could have been produced only by an omniscient, omnipotent God. To some He is the only efficient cause, to others He is both the efficient and the material cause. Against all the opposite views about a creator God, Gauḍapāda presents his theory of *Ajātavāda* or the theory of non-creation and thus rejects all the theories of God as creator. According to this theory, nothing whatsoever is born either of itself or of another. Nothing is ever produced whether it be being, or non-being, or both being and non-being.

On the other hand, fifteenth century poet of Gujarat, Narasinh Mehta (1414-1480) who lived in Junagadh, expresses the omnipotent God as the creator and brings out the principle of sport in his poem, "All this is nothing but *Brahman*, displayed in variety of forms. The essence of all the different elements is nothing but *Brahman*. Creation of the whole world of names and forms is for the sport of the Lord, and his descent from Absolute to Qualified *Brahman* is also with the same motive. *Śṛti* and *Smṛti* teach that there is no distinctive difference between gold and golden earrings, names and forms are different only after assignment of shape. Gold in fact undergoes no change in its nature as such so also all is nothing but *Brahman*. (Tripathi, P. 57).

A knowledge-seeker and a devotee, one who is both religious as well as philosophical is Narasinh Mehta whose works known to us are, (1) *Hāramālā*, (2) *Govindagamana* (3) *Śāmaḷadāsano Vivāha* (4) *Suratasaṅgrāma* (5) *Cāturī*-Chattrīsī (6) *Cāturīṣoḍaśī* (7) *Sudāmācaritra* (8) *Rāsasahasrapadī* (9) *Vasantanā Pado* (10) *Śṛṅgāramāḷā* (11) *Śrī Kṛṣṇajanma-samayanā Pado* (12) *Śrī Kṛṣṇa-janmavadhainā Pado* (13) *Hiṇḍoḷānā Pado* (14) *Bhakti-jñānanā Pado*.

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It may be observed that Narsinh Mehta was not only a Monist but a pantheist who believed God to be pervading in all living and non-living beings of the world. He writes, "there is seed in tree, and thou art there. There is tree in thee and thou art there, thou art wind thou art water, land and flowering of flowers, then resides in the entire sky. Thou art taking taste by forming multifarious network, Śīva has become Jīva with the subtle purpose of thy reality, in the body thou art living thou art in the light, by taking form of the word thou appears as Veda. Thou art Hari in the entire Brahmāṇḍa, thou appears with several forms." As it was pointed out previously there are two main traditions continuing, one *Saguṇa*, personal form of god, and another *Nirguṇa*, impersonal form of god. Narasinh Mehta attempts to reconcile the two forms and calls it by the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. He thinks that by calling Ultimate Reality by name of Hari or Kṛṣṇa he is harmonising two forms of *Brahman.* In his poem he writes, "It is by consciousness that he envelops the world, *Brahman* is dancing before *Brahman.*" Here it seems that passive and active *Brahmans* are being reconciled. Although he was a seeker of knowledge, his devotional songs show how he makes special reference to principle of love than knowledge. In the following line he writes, "Narsinh learns that this is the usual search of mind, it really manifests by the force of love."

Narsinh Mehta has veritably realized the identity with Lord Kṛṣṇa as self with *Brahman.* He says that one is not able to realise it by the help of *Japa, Tapa,* study of scriptures, pilgrimage, bathing in sacred rivers and temple worship of God-all this is of no concrete use unless one finds unity of individual self with *Brahman.* He says that everything is brittle without the presence of Lord Kṛṣṇa. According to him this most valuable life is wholly wasted if the mystery of the self '*Tattvadarśana*' is not recognised and fully realised. Of course he mixed *Kevalādvaita* with *Śuddhādvaita* of Vallabhācārya. At times he feels that world is an illusion and he also feels that world is manifestation of the play of God.

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II

As it is said previously Akhāji propounds at times *Ajātivāda* wherein *Māyā* is said to be entirely a naught, as if nothing is produced and nothing is to be liberated. At times he thinks that everything is enveloped by *Māyā*. He says that *Karma*, its fruits and ultimately the next birth to enjoy the fruits of *Karma*, all this is due to *Māyā* alone. All the different relations of the Jīva such as father, mother, brother, wife, and the like, the differences of castes and creeds, the beauty of form, wealth, tact, and skill, the mastery of fourteen kinds of *Vidyās*, composition of poems, erudition, pride of virtue and charity, all this is nothing but adoration of *Māyā*.

It is *Akhegītā* that Akhāji elaborates and in that propounds the doctrine of *Māyā*. Moreover he has expounded his own philosophy of *Advaita Vedānta* and related principles in *Gītā*. Akhā speaks about the relationship between soul and *Brahman*. He terms the Real as '*Mahāmokṣadāyinī*'. He describes the means and devices by which human being can live in *samsāra*. He elucidates the characteristics of *Jīvanmukta* and the doctrine of *Puṣṭi* or the grace of Guru by which individual can be relieved of the evil and sufferings of life and world. In this context Akhāji thinks that *Māyā* has two aspects, one its immobile nature which is inactive and unborn and its active part is *Prakṛti* which consists of three *Guṇas* such as *Sattva, Rajas* and *Tamas*. There are twenty five evolutes of *Prakṛti* such as gross elements, *manas, buddhi, citta* and *ahaṅkāra*. *Māyā* which is active creates the qualities represented by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa and then she becomes the wife of these three as Saraswatī, Lakṣmī and Kālī. This *Prakṛti* is also known as *Cit-śakti* which is *Parātattva* and *Parabrahmā Mahiṣī*. Of course *Prakṛti* has no independent reality from that of *Brahman*.

Akhā has written his poetry in Hindi language also and in this way he has contributed his ideas and thoughts in wider Indian perspective. There is definite line of northern Indian poets who are devotees and have written in Hindi literature such

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as Raidāsa, Kabira Sen and Dādu. Quite often Akhājī gives the impression that in his *Kevalādvaita* he is an advocate of *Nirguṇa Brahman.* In his view of *Prakṛti* as we saw previously along with *Prakṛti* there are twenty five evolutes. Īśwara or *Brahman* is the twenty sixth. The power of *Brahman* is called *Māyā.* The fourfold activities, *Dharma, Artha, Kāma* and *Mokṣa*, the four stages of human life, the three *Lokas*, birth, death and embodiment, the time-sense of past, the present and the future, *Karma* and its result all this is non-existent to one who is embedded in *Brahman.* In reality, nothing truly exists but *Brahman*, all creation and non-creation is false. *Brahman*, the pure self never undergoes any change at any time.

Besides his inclination and belief for *Kevalādvaita* Akhājī shows leaning towards *Śuddhādvaita* also as he leaves for Gokula Mathurā after his resignation from the mint in Ahmedabad. In order to get initiation from proper *Guru* he goes to Gokula. Still he was not satisfied and from Gokula he went to Kāśī and on Maṇikarṇikā Ghāṭa he heard a dialogue from an adept in *Vedānta* for one year on the outskirt of a hut. There was his disciple present who was listening to *Guru* but when he got a nap, Akho spoke nodding from outside. *Guru* felt the loyalty of Akho and his sincerity in learning the lessons of *Vedānta.* So Akho was initiated by *Guru* in Kāśī. The name of *Guru* is a matter of conjecture among scholars. Akho has mentioned the name of Brahmānanda. However, Narmadashankara Mehta writes that '*Brahmānanda* means joy of *Brahmatattva.*' Yet Akho refers to *Brahmānanda* as his *Guru.* In case of selection of *Guru* Akho says that 'You select yourself as your own *Guru*'. It is by exploring and obtaining knowledge of self that one gets proper guidance, inspiration and instruction from the self. As *Bhagavadgītā* says that self is the best friend, helper, brother and guide (VI. 5). Akho too advises that one should become one's *Guru.*

Akho has a spirit of renunciation and he feels detached from worldly life. He is at the same time devoted to *Brahman* but he thinks that *Brahman* is the Absolute.

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He is an iconoclast. He does not think that one can adore *Brahman* by performing rituals and bowing down before idols. So although he is a devotee, as Shri Umashankar Joshi says,'there is no pomp in Akhā's devotional spirit.' When in Gokul he went into the temple of Vallabhācārya he was honoured and was offered high pedestal but instead of sitting on the pedestal he kept his turban and coat and sat down on the floor. This shows how humble he was. In '*Akhegītā*' Akhā has discussed the nature of relationship between Jīva, Jagat and God. It was written in 1649 A.D. with forty *Kaḍavān*, chapters and ten *padas*. It has topics such as *Parabrahma, Ārādhanā, Bhaktimahimā*, description of *Jīvanmukta, Māyādāsī, Āvaraṇa-vikṣepa* and *Svabhāva*. Akhā is a keen observer of multiple events of life and world. He thinks that *Ajātavāda* and *Advaitavāda* are not separate.

Besides this it seems that Akhā had studied '*Laghuyogavāśiṣṭha*'. In '*Laghuyogavāśiṣṭha*' the need of *Guru* is shown at length.

सर्वभावान्तरस्थाय नित्यमुक्तचिदात्मने ।
प्रत्यक्चैतन्यरूपाय मह्यमेव नमो नमः ॥ सर्गः ४/७०, उपशमप्रकरणम्.

It is held that Reality is in the form of consciousness. It is inner, eternal, liberated *Cit-Ātmā*. There is salutation to this eternal Reality which is within. Poetry and Philosophy are related in Indian tradition since antiquity. *Bhagavadgītā* is a glaring instance of it. However, Akho takes an objection against himself being called a poet. He prefers being called a '*Jñānī*' rather than a poet. It is usual for a poet to approach the object of poetry with the mode of feeling. Akhā insists that human person ought to cultivate true knowledge of Ultimate Reality. He is a lover and votary of truth rather than imagery and dream. He refers to *Māṇḍūkyakārikā* wherein world is compared with dream. Dream is true in its circle and limit. However, it is corrected by waking state. Similarly to the ignorant mind world is observed as

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multiplicity and it is projected upon oneness of *Brahman.* That which is not there it is observed by ignorant mind. This is the result of *Adhyāsa.*

Besides *Adhyāsa* it is *vikṣepaśakti* of *Māyā* which is capable of distorting the object and this is conducive to deception and fraud. Monkey is asked to perform various acts of dancing, entertaining and pleasing people from audience. It is the master who earns money and at times starves the monkey and allows it to suffer for the merriment of spectators. Male-goat is also fed properly and allowed to enjoy till one day it is killed by the butcher for selling its mutton in the market. Akho frequently attempts to describe that which is indescribable and ineffable. About the creation of the world he thinks that 'There are many causes of the world, but once it is there then there are many names it is idol of *Pañcabhūta*, it is really the work of *Brahma*'. At times in *Akhegītā* and *Anubhavabindu* he writes as if he is pantheist, he says that Hari is everywhere, one whose eyesight is changed and perceives Hari in the multiple objects of the world, but from metaphysical point of view he thinks that Supreme Reality is beyond multiple objects of the world. This is why he thinks it is beyond our usual attributes of one and many, truth and falsehood, spirit and world. Akho relates the need of true *Guru* with ineffability and immutability of *Brahman.* He thinks that to seek for true *Guru* is not hankering after pomp and wealth but true *Guru* opens up the eyes of the disciple. He writes that for a long time he was weeping as he was in search of true *Guru.* At last 'Hari' revealed himself before Akhā. It was after this revelation that true speech opened in the self of Akhā. Narasinh too had to undergo an arduous penance for seven days. It was after this rigorous ordeal that he realized *Brahman* in form of Śiva and Hari.

Later Akho describes the nature and limitation of speech (*Vāk*). Speech is conjoined with senses and other intellectual mode of cognition beyond sense. *Vāk* is an instrument of that which is beyond sense-organs. Akho intends to say that

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when one seeks the origin of speech one is required to find its true object. Its object is at times mundane, empirical, intellectual and transcendent. In Upaniṣads it is mentioned as (1) *Parā* (2) *Paśyantī* (3) *Madhyamā* and (4) *Vaikharī*. Accordingly its objects are physical, vital, intellectual and transcendent. Experience has got its own object and intellect attempts to describe and express the content of experience. However, experience of Advaitic Reality transcends the subject and object. Moment when it is described it divides itself in dualistic position. As an experience it is non-dualistic. It is implicitly an identity of subject and object. As an experience it is described in subject and predicate. So it is dualistic. Bliss is indescribable. One who feels it he alone knows it. It is like the sweetness of the sugar. Its description is physical or chemical which is neither feeling nor experience. In '*anubhavabindu*', Akho articulates poetically the notion of supreme experience. Its experience is limited by speech and mode of communication.

'*Pañcīkaraṇa*' is a long poem in which Akhā describes how the human soul is related with Supreme Reality and the treatment of five physical elements is shown from metaphysical point of view. From the ethical standpoint human ego has been dealt with as if it is bound by ignorance and evil. Its aim and object is to change itself into Śiva which is good itself. Further the creation of the world is described and expounded here just as rays of the sun belong to sun and they are separate, similarly soul and world are separate and they belong to *Brahman*. There is according to Akho non-dual relationship between *Brahman* and world. Just as 'Knower' of *Brahman* becomes himself *Brahman*, says Upaniṣad, similarly to think about the creation and development of the world brings us nearer to its creator and maker. In this context Akho thinks that *Brahman* in himself is *Nirguṇa* but when *Brahman* manifests in the world, it is *Saguṇa* that is personal and mutable.

A question would arise as to the necessity of such knowledge. In reply Akho thinks that to know about *Māyā* and the multiplicity of the world is to go beyond it.

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In the process of thinking it takes the knower or thinker above the object of thought. Advantage of this knowledge is that the knower becomes detached and like water and lotus, knower and world are non-attached. The distinction within *Māyā*, that of *Āvaraṇa* and *Vikṣepa* and its understanding is necessary is order to get withdrawn from the working of *Māyā*. Otherwise a person gets immersed in *Māyā* of ego and the world. Akho says that it is usual for ego to utter 'Mine' and 'I'. *Jīva* of human individual is usually identified with five material elements and sense-organs. When inward *Jīva* recognises that it is not separate from the true self which is Supreme Reality then it obtains liberation. Till then the curtain created by '*Māyā*' continues, soul is enmeshed in bewilderment of passions and it moves within the circle of ignorance and suffering. Soul should recognise the reflection (*pratibimba*) of reality and *Brahman* within *Antaḥkaraṇa*.

There are two dialogues written by Akhā, '*Cittavicārasaṁvāda*' and '*Guruśiṣyasaṁvāda*'. They are his later writings. One ought to pursue the search of true knowledge removing all doubts in mind regarding objects of inquiry. In these dialogues there is an inquiry into nature of knowledge and *Brahman* by asking questions and an attempt to reply it. In '*Cittavicāra*' there is an attempt to combine knowledge with devotion whereas in '*Guruśiṣya*' the thought of *Advaita* is made dominant and there is an inquiry into objectivity. There is a mention of experience of '*Aparokṣānubhūti*'. However it is largely analytical.

In '*Cittavicāra*', *Citta* is the fatherhood whereas thought is the offspring. Both father and son are acquainted with scripture and Purāṇas. *Citta* expresses its puzzle regarding the experience of *Advaita*. The perplexity is presented before the seal of thought. The person in form of thought attempts to resolve doubts by answering questions. To a certain extent the dialogue shows indirectly Akhā's own inquiry into truth. *Citta* is partly ignorant. Ego and thought are attempting to clarify truth. It

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is ignorant ego which utters, 'My son, my family'. It is not capable of resisting the *Māyā* which envelops mental cognitive states and emotions. It is thought that God is very powerful entity. It is inaccessible. One cannot utter anything about God. Soul is constantly under the duress of *Karma*. It is dependent upon lust of *Māyā* and its created armoury. Mind understands Purāṇas, Ṣaḍdarśanas, Veda and Vedānta and yet it fails to understand and grasp truth. Akho says that just as there is lamp in darkness, similarly there is nearness to God. Although *Jīva* aspires to become Śiva it is oppressed by ignorance and ego. In subtler Reality there is preparation of God in the world yet there is envelope of ignorance and *Māyā*. So long as there is body and its adjuncts there is hurdle against knowledge and true devotion. Śaṅkara calls it the superimposition of matter or body upon the reality of *Brahman*. Akho says thus, 'O Sun, hear the truth of thought and understand soul and Ishwara, there are various names and spaces but there is one inhabitance of supreme consciousness. It is non-dual consciousness'. How does it express within human personality ? There are several explanations given for that purpose. *Jīva* is part of *Brahman*. It is reflection of *Brahman*. *Jīva* is a product of *Māyā* which is ignorance. *Māyā* is superimposition upon *Brahman*.

Akho thinks that world lives in primary stage in embryo and all fourteen *lokas* are implicit in this embryo. This embryo is 'Hari' which is unborn. So long as man lives in the world his *Jīva* or mundane and empirical self is not annihilated and the end of the world is not found. The mundane world ravels in duality. It is only when world is understood as non-dual that it gets removed. Excellence dawns when duality of body and soul is annihilated. As regards duality which is felt on mundane plane Akho describes three types of duality such as '*Bhāva*', '*Kriyā*' and '*Dravyādvaita*'. Non-dual consciousness is above all three types of duality. Relationship between birds and animals is that of *Bhāvādvaita*, their activities are regarded as '*Kriyādvaita*', whereas relationship between matter and consciousness

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is '*Dravya-advaita*'. The aim is fixed at non-dual awareness. Akho believes that to attain it is supreme achievement; such an achievement is in parity with pilgrimage, devotion, sense of renunciation, knowledge and strict austerities. One who attains this supreme awareness is not required to join any sect or creed and subscribe to any faith.

It is the common feature of knowledge-oriented poets to seek truth and knowledge within and in inner spirit. Akho gives an analogy of lightening in the sky during monsoon in which people find sudden light to do work. He advises that it is not easy to pass thread within the hole of needle during that fraction of second of lightening in the sky. Life is also short like lightening in the sky and in this short life how one should attempt to devote to true *Guru* and seek God is a pertinent question. The function of true *Guru* is like a swan who, it is said, understands the distinction between milk and water. *Guru* can show what is permanent and what is fleeting. What is essential is the knowledge of *Svasvarūpa*. Without it one just wanders in darkness and ignorance.

As against this wandering when one resorts to Hari, his embarrassment ceases, *Karmas* cannot trouble him. Human person cannot be spoiled by the dirt of *Karma*. Even though he lives in *saṁsāra* he lives a detached life like lotus which is not wet by the touch of water. When a person is seeking true *Guru* and *Brahman* he denies himself and asserts *Brahman*. It is by losing oneself that one finds oneself. Inspite of insistence by Akho on self-knowledge he relies ultimately upon the grace of personal God and favour of *Sadguru*. It is the grace of Supreme *Brahman* which is superior to *Sadguru*. He says that although the rays of the sun are spread everywhere yet the owl is not able to observe the light of the day. Thus grace of God is very much essential. Bird Cātaka is remaining thirsty even on the bank of Ganges. In like manner disciple of learned *Guru* is not able to resolve ignorance without the grace of Hari.

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III

There are Advaitins besides Akhā and Narasinh Mehta such as Dhīro (1752-1852), Niranta, Bāpu Gaekwar, Prītamdās (1718-1798), Chotālāla Kālidāsa (1812-1885), Bhāṇasāheba (1690-1760), Ravisāheba, Damodara Śarma, Jīvaṇa, Bhojo and in modern times the name of Maṇilāla Nabhubhāi Dvivedī (1858-1898) who was an Advaitin of repute and whom Svāmī Vivekānanda met in Nadiad must be mentioned. He has written number of books on *Vedānta* and was *Guru* of Gujarāti poet Kalāpī during the end of nineteenth century. Just as there is distinct line of poets and thinkers in *Kevalādvaita* in Gujarāti literature in like manner Svāmī Sahajānanda (1775-1826) is a distinct thinker, religious and social reformer of Viśiṣṭādvaitism of early nineteenth century. Long before Mahatma Gandhi attempted to eradicate untouchability, casteism and unwanted social customs from Hindu society he was Svāmī Sahajānanda who heralded such reformatory and regenerative work in religion and society in India and Gujarat in particular. During the times when Svāmī Sahajānanda lived and worked there were misconceived social customs and religious rituals. He advocated abolition of superstitions, dogmas and misconceived customs in society. Moreover, besides knowledge-oriented instruction he attempted the devotion-oriented teachings to the masses and intellectual people in society. Moreover Śrī Svāmīnārāyaṇa held the notion of equality of men and women and upheld the sanctity of *Gṛhasthāśrama* at the same time showed the value of *Tyāgāśrama* for the preservation of moral and spiritual values of life.

Śri Svāminārāyaṇa also held the virtues of truth and non-violence in every aspect of individual and collective life. His renowned Ethical work '*Śikṣāpatrī*' which consists of two hundred twenty five prescribed rules for individual, family life, social, cultural and civil life, is indeed a significant landmark in religious literature of India and modern philosophical thought.

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In its essential root Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa's thought is dependent upon Śrī Rāmānujācārya's *Viśiṣṭādvaita* and Vaiṣṇavism in its general outlook. The improper usages and rituals of Vaiṣṇavism were strictly opposed by Śri Svāminārāyaṇa and his followers. Religion in its proper sense is not simply practise and faith but it is proper philosophical understanding and outlook. Common people and followers in collectivity take up rituals for granted and minimise reason and understanding which in reality are support of true faith. Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa emphasizes upon adequate understanding and explanation which support religious faith. It is owing to the inadequate understanding of rituals that they become stereotypes at later stage and lose its true spirit. This actually happened in *Vaiṣṇava* religion and its followers began to distort the spirit of religion. Power of religious institution was mixed with devotional aspect of religious congregation with the result that head of the institute bypassed the religious aspiration which is the true core of spirituality. Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa emphasized upon the true aspiration of understanding of the nature of God and its faith and surrendering in true spirit. In Vaiṣṇavism the practises of religious custom and ritual were misused and righteous spirit was lost especially in private temple, Haveli and order of religious authority. Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa attempted to bring transparency, clean relationship, high idealism and rigid practice of moral virtues.

Besides rational and intellectual knowledge there exists intuitive knowledge capable of grasping subtle nature of Self and Reality. Just as behind moral practice there is metaphysical foundation of essential Reality in like manner at the back of *Prakṛti* there exists essential knowledge of *Akṣarabrahma* and *Parabrahma* Absolute. When a person is living a truly moral and religious life he is supposed to have adamant faith in foundational principles of Self, God and Reality, which are ultimate justification of moral and religious life. Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa believes that religious life is not a superstitious and dogmatic life but it is an enlightened, intellectual, morally perceived and clearly thoughtful life.

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We may now observe certain basic principles, metaphysical and moral, which are conceived in philosophy of Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa. Firstly, it is held that devotional life of human person depends upon belief of one God. There is a single Reality which is given many names at times. However, Reality is one and it upholds the multiple and dynamic world of matter and conscious beings. Secondly, God is one, but it is the transcendent and Ultimate Reality in case of its attributes and predicate. It is perfect, great, supreme and final Reality. It is sovereign, and fundamental metaphysical Reality. As it is the supreme there is no other Reality which can compete with it. Thirdly, god is not only ultimate and supreme but it has attribute of personality. God is love, compassion, person and intimate to human beings. Fourthly, religious life of human person consists of experience which is spiritual. This characteristic makes Śrī Svāminārāṇa's thought quite distinct in Indian tradition as according to him religious life is an experience of the individual. It is not the body or physical self which can be called human being but it is the soul or spiritual being which is entitled to be said as human person. Human person ought to think that he is *Brahman* which is not the body but the spiritual soul. In consonance with *Vedānta*, Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa holds ultimate Reality to be *Sat*, *Cit* and *Ānanda*. So communion with Ultimate Reality ensues supreme joy and in that view worldly pleasures are futile.

A religious person ought to feel that mundane life and its pleasures are in vain. Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa has frequently mentioned that there are certain definite presuppositions of moral life such as immortality of soul, freedom of will, existence of God, evil, time and the law of *Karma*. In social and moral life individual should observe the station and duty to be fixed and to be practised in one's life. Although there is the law of *Karma*, it does not prevent an individual to have encouragement and effort for good activity and righteousness. In the course of after-life and rebirth it is the true sense of aspiration, effort, purpose and earnestness which accumulate

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in gearing righteousness. Eventhough religious and moral effort may be small and meagre, however, it can never go in vain. It definitely protects the moral doer. Lord Kṛṣṇa in *Gītā* says that '*Na hi kalyāṇakṛtkaścit durgatim tāta gacchati*' (VI. 40)

In this context, it may be observed that religion and philosophy according to Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa are intimately related as cognition-orientated feeling, devotion and religious life. Understanding and conceptual grasp add adequate content to religious activity. Renunciation, devotion, surrender, consecration and total sincerity are extremely essential for total religious life. However, Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa insists upon the quality of love and devotion in cultivation of religious life. The other qualities of religious life are *Dharma, Jñāna* and *Vairāgya.* Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa has written in '*Śikṣāpatrī*' that it is the duty of every human being to worship God in every possible manner, for *Bhakti* is really the only means of attaining salvation. It is in surrendering to God according to Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa that devotee secures the grace of God which is essential for achieving true release from the clutches of *Māyā.*

At times a person or devotee is loving God and is religious but his religiosity is not in consonance with morals of collective life, harmony of family life and society. This is not admirable as true devotion to God ought to be consistent with proper duties and moral fervour. Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa maintains that *Jñāna, Vairāgya* and *Dharma* are necessary ingredients with devotion or *Bhakti.* In the religion of Svāminārāyaṇa as distinct from other sects of Hindu religion morality is necessary part of devotion and religious activity of individual should be in harmony with religious group of Svāminārāyaṇa.

There are five distinct categories of knowledge in the philosophy of Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa. They are *Jīva, Māyā*, God, *Akṣarabrahma* and *Parabrahma.* There is unity and harmony of knowledge in the system of his philosophy. It is faith which

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is pivot in these sources of fundamental knowledge. These beliefs which are implicit in the method of being and knowing Ultimate Reality are founded in its central experience which is working as faith in the consciousness of the individual. Faith can be rationally justified but as such it stands as the pillar of fundamental belief. Of course it is found on experience but in its absence in the individual framework it works as faith. In order to recognise and realize the ultimate knowledge and experience it is faith which is working for individual search and endeavour. According to Svāminārāyaṇa faith should not be contrary to reason. However, it may be supported by reason. An intellectual rational person should not be forced to believe but he should be persuaded to believe. So faith may be made conducive to reason. Small and inferior deities should not be adored and worshipped by devout and sincere persons having faith in true religiosity.

There is a link between scriptural word (Śabda), faith, *Sadguru* and seeker of liberation (*Mumukṣu*). The link among these constituents is abiding experience. He is *Sadguru* who has the essential experience and he is entitled to interpret the scripture and explain it to the seeker of liberation. It is upon the basis of this rational explanation that faith of God and religious system is based. Scripture and religious system are not mere authorities and seeker of liberation should not be afraid of faith and when faith is not opposite to reason then it is intrinsic to the content of faith.

It is in fitting with rational elucidation that the category of *Akṣarabrahma* for instance requires to be related and shown. It is said above that according to Svāminārāyṇa there are five important principles of his metaphysical position which are *Parabrahma, Akṣarabrahma, Īśwara, Māyā* and *Jīva*. Out of these it is *Akṣarabrahma* who is eternally related with *Parabrahma* and yet immanent in *Jīva* and *Māyā*. Although *Māyā* is unreal yet a part of *Brahma* which makes unique relationship between *Brahma* and *Māyā*. It makes *Akṣarabrahma* personal inspite

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of its impersonality. This is distinct in the structure of its thought. Although it is beyond *Māyā* and *Jīva* and yet it is implicit within the fold of *Jīva* and *Māyā*. It is within and without the evolutes.

As regards the Reality of *Parabrahma* it is altogether distinct from *Akṣarabrahma* for *Parabrahma* is absolutely beyond the immanence of *Prakṛti* or *Akṣarabrahma*. It is here that Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa differs from the philosophical view of Śrī Rāmānuja who thinks that world is related with *Brahman*, the Absolute like soul and body, '*Śarīra-Śarīribhāva*.' It is true that the relationship between soul and body is interdependent, however, it is not absolutely so as in case of body it is dependent upon the soul but soul is having independent consciousness of its own. Soul is not dependent upon body for its state of consciousness. In case of Absolute also it does not depend upon the world for it is '*Parātpara*'. A verse from *Gītā* may be quoted in its substantiation from canto nine, '*Māyā tatamidam sarvaṁ jagadavyaktamūrtinā । Matsthāni sarvabhūtāni na cāham teṣvavasthitaḥ ।। (9.4)*' By Me, the Unmanifest Being, is all this universe of motion pervasively extended. All the existences are situated in Me and not in them am I situated.'

It is the above elucidation of metaphysical categories in the philosophy of Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa which call for rational elucidation even though the main principles rest on faith of the devotee and the seeker within the individual. Moreover, just as *Gītā* advocates devotion which may be seen in twelfth and eighteenth cantos as the best means to realise God, similarly Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa advocates devotion as the superior way of attaining *Akṣarabrahman*.

Having dwelt upon Polytheism, Monism and the philosophical thought of Śrī Svāminārāyaṇa, I should like to dwell a little on the Nineteenth century movement of Ārya Samāja initiated by Svāmī Dayānanda (1824-1885) who was born in Ṭaṅkārā,

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a village near Rajkot in Saurashtra. Owing to his dissatisfaction with ritualistic idol-ridden Hindu devotional worship he fled and went to Haridwar and he took his learning of Veda from a blind Svāmi Virajananda. *Guru* told Dayānanda to spread the true gospel of Vedas and Vedic religion. He wrote in Hindi language his autobiography and his most significant work '*Satyārthaprakāśa*' in which he elaborated his ideas of *Traitavāda*, philosophy of god, soul and the world as well as his polemic against *Avatāravāda*, Jaina, Christianity, Islam and other sects and religion. He attempted to establish the supremacy of Vedic religion and gave a call to go back to Vedas.

During nineteenth and twentieth centuries there has been indeed 'Indian Renaissance' as Śrī Aurobindo has called in his '*Foundations of Indian Culture*' and in the spirit of *Sanātana Dharma* there has been a serious attempt to regenerate and revitalise society and religious activity. In this context there have been poets, literary writers, reformers such as Kavi Dalapatarāma, Narmdaśaṅkara Bhaṭṭa, Ramaṇalāla Desaī, Kalāpī, Ācārya Ānandaśaṅkara Dhruva, Govardhanarāma Tripāṭhī, Mahātmā Gāndhī, Śrī Maṇilāla Nabhubhāī Dvivedī, Śrī Kiśorīlāla Maśarūvālā, Paṇḍita Sukhalālajī and many renowned learned persons who have contributed towards reconstructing social and national conditions, freedom and unity. Out of these thinkers and reformers one person and thinker who has written in Gujarati and thought on philosophical, religious, social, educational values and liberation is Kiśorilāla Maśarūvālā (1890-1953).

Maśarūvālā wrote certain important works such as '*Jīvanaśodhana, Samūḷī Krānti, Saṁsāra ane Dharma, Keḷavaṇīnā Pāyā* ' and others. His *Guru* Śrī Kedāranāthajī wrote '*Vivẻka ane Sādhanā*'. In his main contention, Śrī Maśarūvālā brings out that Theism remains in its essence an inspiration and spring for moral earnestness, religious aspiration and altruistic endeavour. It may be seen that in his

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most important work he enumerates the qualifications and moral treasure of '*Śreyārthī*', one who endeavours for '*Śreyas*' the Good. They are aspiration for truth, earnestness, love, sincerity, discipleship, renunciation, agility and healthy physique. Just as there are certain conditions for celibacy, similarly there are definite conditions for securing '*Śreyas*'. It is in this background that Maśarūvālā thinks that the desire for liberation ought to be evaluated.

In his view philosophy is not mere intellectual exercise , analysis, thought-provoking discussion but it is distinctly a way of life, Yoga and direction for experience. Thinker in philosophy has to find proper righteous activity keeping in mind its objective. 'Man should desire knowledge, he should become *Śreyārthī*, desire more research, purity in mind and thought,' 'writes Maśarūvālā. As a result man destroys superstition, ignorance, partial knowledge, indecision, in short it will be release from irrationalism. Maśarūvālā believes that in Indian tradition there is misconception about the fourth *Puruṣārtha* '*Mokṣa*' that by any means there ought to be release from activity. As a result there are lots of confusions in the minds and thoughts of people. In this way the term '*Mokṣa*' is deceiving. He renames '*Mokṣa*' as search or desire for knowledge. It is owing to this desire for release or knowledge that a person seeks *Dharma, Artha* and *Kāma.* He purifies the activities he undertakes. A person who knows is not free from the control of morality or religion but he understands properly the '*Dharma*'. He knows the limitations of desires for various activities and with proper understanding accepts the control and limitation willingly.

The problem of release or liberation is intimately connected with '*Dharma*'. Maśarūvālā believes that righteous living is very much valuable. What is the meaning of *Dharma* or righteous living ? There is a question as to whether there is a key for a thoughtful system, is it really philosophical or is it just an appearance of thought

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system. It is by accepting a thoughtful system there is an encouragement for development and progress of society, its purity, sanctity and as it grows there is more growth of social health, culture and its cohesion also. This is its key to be called really philosophical. Maintenance does not mean its physical body alone but it means adequate protection and self-sustained disciplined life. In our progressive life of balanced emotions and intellectual skills, our life ought not to be self-centred, egoistic and self-sustained but we should look towards the well-balanced being of family, village, community, city, nation and whole mankind. We should observe that by our activity those who are nearby, animals and neighbours are done proper justice, acquaintances are properly benefited. There should be peaceful, satisfactory and affectionate distribution of utility and benefit to all who are related. Those who are suffering and in calamity are cared properly. We should not let the evil of life and world harass the poor, downtrodden. Our intelligence should make them fearless.

It is open to question whether such a state of society will emerge at any stage or time. This is not important but our approach and way of life ought to turn to social betterment and welfare or at least we should show inclination in this direction.

Maśarūvālā says that 'This is what I understand by aim of life. This is progress of human being. To the extent that learning, art, science, interests of life lead towards this aim of life it is desirable and essential.' 'It is true that certain activities are not injurious or harmful to this betterment of society, then it may be allowed to flourish. All other activities are improper and inessential. An activity which encourages and enhances such aim of life is righteous, it is '*Dharma*'.

He thinks that duty and *Dharma* are synonymous. The right duty is that which coincides with consistent *Dharma* of society. Purified emotion, thought and action have relationship with religious import. This is what is understood by

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purification of consciousness. Such purity has impact not only upon the doer, person but upon family, surroundings and as a result upon society. Moral righteousness has impact upon enrichment of society. At the same time if society is on a lower level, it is degenerating, it is the duty of doer or individual to suffer on that account and improve one's doing, action, try one's best to remove injustice. The upshot is that there should be cultivation of '*Daivī Sampatti*', righteous qualities.

In the second part, Maśarūvālā elucidates on elements of religious preparation such as thought on taking support of God, God as cause of the world, consciousness, Supreme *Brahman* for austerity, devotion, *Sādhanā* for God, faith, atheism, death, rebirth and related matter.

Aim of knowledge is to improve and purify, explore *Dharma, Artha* and *Kāma*, three *Puruṣārthas*. To know one's self means to depend on one's own self, its power, knowledge, *Karma* and not to depend on others for one's own doing whether it gives pain, or pleasure, to endure, suffer and persevere in one's own effort for self-knowledge. One should not worry about death or the state after death. The life is here and one should face squarely the state of life and existence. One should pursue goodness as *Niṣkāma Karma.*

One should take resort of pure principle of ultimate existence as support and not any specific religion or particular prophet. This is true and resorting to certain foundation of life. Maśarūvālā thinks that *Śreyārthī* depends upon one single principle God who is both efficient and material cause of the world, and that it is consciousness. God is not simply matter but it is consciousness. Moreover, it is not proper to say that God is '*Nirākāra*' but it is base of all forms and its support. Then in the second instance there is a distinction between '*Citta*' and '*Caitanya.*' *Citta* is conglomeration of passions and desires. It is related with different types of objects. It is in *Caitanya*

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that one is self-conscious and one has got self-knowledge and discipline. When self knows one is conscious and having consciousness then this consciousness is named as *Parama Caitanya, Paramātmā, Pra..iatattva, Parameśvara. Citta* is referred to as 'I' whereas *Caitanya* is referred to as 'Thou' or 'That'.

Maśarūvālā thinks that in his or her *Puruṣārtha*, every individual has implicitly three beliefs-one is having true will power, true desire whatever one desires, one is likely to attain. Secondly, in the world there is provision to fulfil one's desire. Thirdly, there is faculty of discrimination of right and wrong. There is intelligence. Moreover, through various sources such as scripture, experience and acquaintance with great teachers, reading biographies, one comes across certain definite beliefs as follows :

1. One is capable of getting intelligence as perfect as that of God, one can get detachment, recognition and attainment.

2. One can gradually develop, purify discrimination of right and wrong.

3. One gets decision and conviction in one's effort.

4. Development of virtues of truth, non-violence, charity, mercy, and renunciation.

5. One who possesses such virtues and attainments and is capable of communicating it to a devotee is '*Vibhūti*' which is representation of *Paramātman.*

Above characters of devotee and progressive individual show that God is potential of powers and *Vibhūti.* However, one cannot achieve all the powers one conceives. One should attempt to obtain good, pure powers and one should ponder

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over it. Maśaruvālā says that by attributing several qualities to God he is attempting to improve, add, purify and cultivate such qualities within one's own character, consciousness and self. So he exhorts *Śreyārthī* to follow the description of *Sthitaprajña, Jīvanmukta, Bhakta, Jñānī, Guṇātīta* and *Daivī Prakṛti* given in Bhagavadgītā.

It may be observed from above elucidation that Śrī Maśarūvālā has brought rational temper in ethical and religious pursuit prevalent in customary and reflective life. It is altruistic rationalism which he has attempted to articulate in moral and religious endeavour. He believes in God, *Guru*, holy and spiritual company, moral beliefs and in true liberation. However, he is critical about the law of *Karma* and its popular interpretation. Maśarūvālā says that law of *Karma* should not be brought as pretext now and then in explaining cause of event or phenomenon. There are several immediate causes such as environment, relatives, living beings who may have been connected with individual or event and they cannot be ignored.

One who is '*Śreyārthī*' seeker of Goodness, ought to have intelligent guidance in one's life and trust or faith in one God. He should not deviate from the path he has demarcated as an aim of life. Maśarūvālā believes in life after death but he is cautious in interpreting miracles and belief in spirits. Quite often religious people are hankering after heresies and looking after so-called spiritual phenomena which are hostile for true ethical and religious life. They mislead individual in deviating and taking astray from true goal of life. When individual believes that somebody is his *Guru* he then takes him to be an *Avatāra*, immortal, son of god, most righteous, holy, sacred and saviour of mankind. Such belief spoils the true righteous life and aspiration for God. True aim is to purify belief, endeavour, attitude and love for mankind. There should be true devotion which consists in surrendering to almighty power of God. He attempts to bring innovation in concept of *Bhakti, Upāsanā* and *Karmakāṇḍa.*

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He devotes a special section on elaboration of *Sāṅkhya* and *Yogasūtras* and gives his own understanding and interpretation of *Puruṣa, Prakṛti,* God and liberation. In case of *Yogasūtras* he attempts to explain the true meaning of '*Samādhi*', '*Asaṁprajñāta*', '*Saṁprajñāta*', *Savitarka, Savicāra* and other technical terms in *Yogadarśana.*

It seems that Maśarūvālā has expounded philosophy of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* while adhering to *Sāṅkhya* thought. He thinks that Vedic religion is religion based upon one's experience and it instructs such precepts only which have access to experience. To surrender to God is meant for the purpose of righteous behaviour and not for any religious act or will. It is for self-control that *Yoga* is to be practised. To distinguish *Puruṣa* from *Prakṛti* and cultivate '*Vivekakhyāti*' is the purpose of *Yoga. Abhyāsa, Vairāgya* and *Īśvarapraṇidhāna* are ways to cultivate *Vivekakhyāti.*

Conclusion : Religious tradition and philosophical thought in Gujarati literature are diverse and it is difficult to find uniform religious and philosophical tradition pervading it. However, religious revival, regeneration and reform can be found in it in several parts. It is true that polytheism still persists among masses. It is to be noted that a sect called '*Rādhā Svāmī Sampradāya, Praṇāmī Sampradāya,*' which has its root in United Provinces (U.P.) has its followers in Gujarat and they have a temple here in Jamnagar and in Sorath District.

Since the times of *Ādikavi* Narasinh Mehta both *Jñānī* and *Bhakta* have favoured Monistic principle of Reality and Idealistic thought in poetry and literature at large. There have been deep impact of the thought of Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Sri Aurobindo on the literature in Gujarat largely during the first half of twentieth century.

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UNEXPLORED AVENUES IN CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE **

R. I. NANAVATI*

Dear Colleagues and Friends,

I welcome you all in this Classical Sanskrit Section of this 41st Session of All India Oriental Conference at Puri. I thank all my friends who have put trust in me and given me this responsibility of carrying out the proceedings of this section. I also pay my respects to my great predecessors on this chair like Prof. B.R. Sastry, Prof. R.C. Dwivedi, Prof. Jayamanta Mishra, Prof. B.M. Avasthi, Prof. Ramaranjan Mukherji, Prof. Satyavrat Shastri, Prof. A.N. Jani *et al.* I sincerely hope that with their blessings and with your co-operation, I shall be able to carry out my presidential duties without much difficulty.

Friends, there was a time when Classical Sanskrit Section thronged with paper-readers. Literally hundreds of papers were submitted to this Section. The time of the four sessions roughly twelve hours-allotted to each of the Sections was not at all sufficient even to present and discuss main points of the papers, let alone read them in entirety. I remember, in Ujjain in 1972, Prof. Ramarajan Mukherjee was in this chair and he could allot only three minutes to each of the paper-readers. There was a paper on Vāmana's theory of *rīti*, and it engrossed the interest of chairman, particularly on the point of Mammaṭa willfully misrepresenting Vāmana's theory and doing him injustice; soon, however, the president recovered from his

Journal of The Oriental Institute, Vol. LI, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 2001 pp. 139-147.

** Presidential Address, 41st Session of All India Oriental Conference, Puri, 14-16, December, 2002.

* 103-B, Rajlakshmi Society, Race course, Old Padra Road, Vadodara.

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engrossment, rang the bell after 7-8 minutes and regretted that it was not possible to give more time to scholarly papers. (The paper of course was chosen for being included in the Proceedings.)

That was the catch in the system. Paper-reading, particularly in the Classical Sanskrit Section, was more and more becoming a mere ritual. The pressure of the time and the system was so great that even whom one felt that more time should be given to this or that paper, it was just not possible. There was a sort of general dissatisfaction at the situation and even the General Executive Committee was keenly aware of it. The first solution that came up before the committee was to split the section into two or three divisions by numerically distributing papers into two or three divisions, appoint additional presidents from the senior scholars and run all the divisions of the section simultaneously. Thus for a few sessions, we had two - then three - divisions of this section with one or two additional sectional presidents appointed and thus the show was run.

But the discerning members of the Executive Committee could see that, though the division-method was working more satisfactorily than before, yet a more logical solution of the problem was possible still. If some how sections created on the basis of subject-areas which were traditionally included in the Classical Sanskrit Section could be introduced, the problem would be solved more happily and intelligently. The Executive Committee decided to add first the section of Modern Sanskrit Literature; then two more-that of Epics and Purāṇas and of Indian Aesthetics and Poetics - were also added; a section on Manuscriptology was also recently introduced looking to the fact that many centres of preservation and study of our valuable treasure of ancient manuscripts have come up throughout the country in last two or three decades. In this way number of papers related to Sanskrit Aesthetics, Poetics as well as dramaturgy, and to Epics, Purāṇas as well as Modern Sanskrit Literature

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are now being diverted to their respective sections and the burden of papers on the Classical Sanskrit Section has been reduced to a large extent.

But the new system also has problems of its own. With papers on Poetics, Dramaturgy, Epics, Purāṇas, Modern Sanskrit works, Manuscripts problems transferred to other sections, the area of 'Purely Classical Sanskrit' apparently, would seem to leave very little or hardly any scope for fresh and worthwhile deliberations. There were number of universities which used to prescribe (or so at least in the bygone eras) some or the other well-known Classical Sanskrit text at some level of their curricula, in Arts faculties, and almost all the well-known texts of Classical authors like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Harṣa, Śūdraka, Viśākhadatta, Rājaśekhara, Daṇḍin, Bāṇa, Bhāravi, Māgha, Śrīharṣa, *et al.* have been edited, translated, annotated, and introduced as well as subjected to varied interpretations from different points of view (mostly under Ph.D. Projects) so many times that one wonders whether anything new and worthwhile could be said about any of them now. The first person to face this problem was of course, the present president of this section. Generally, the President of a section may choose to survey the work that has been done in the past two years in the subject area of his section. What would the present president of Classical Sanskrit Section survey ? New editions of Classical Works ? *Kālidāsa Samārohas* ? Seminars on Bhavabhūti or Rājaśekhara ? There are hardly any research projects (apart from some very few Ph.D. Programmes) on our well-known Classical works. Even studies from some fresh viewpoints on these are almost nil. What was there to survey ? And very likely, even the scholars and students wanting to participate in this section would have faced the same problem. So much has already been written about our Classical authors; what new could possibly be said in and about them ? Thus, the newly exclusive and delimiting scope of the Classical Sanskrit Section seems to have greatly restricted the potentials of fresh deliberations in this specific area. And to this problem, I think we should address ourselves in the first instance. It is imminent that we take a second look at the concept and connotation of the term 'Classical Sanskrit' itself and redefine the scope and limitations of it.

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On a second look however it appears that the situation is not as grim as it might appear at first sight. There still is, I feel, a good scope to pay a little closer attention to some of our classical authors. Authors like those of Caturbhāṇī, Daṇḍin, Viśākhadatta, Murāri, Rājaśekhara, Jayadeva, Bhāravi, Māgha, Śrīharṣa *et al.* can still bear some close scrutinies and yield worthwhile points of observations. The fact is that as we had been taught from our history books - Keith, De and others- we count these authors also in our list of Classical Sanskrit authors but have hardly paid any attention to them. All our loving care and attention are lavished only on those few authors - Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Harṣa, Bhavabhūti, Śūdraka, Bāṇa who are repeatedly and by turns prescribed in our University Syllabi. We do not tend to look much beyond the prescribed authors or often even beyond the prescribed portions. Our thought deliberations and efforts at research are also generally conditioned by the syllabi that we are supposed to teach. There is nothing wrong in this; after all, all or most of us depend upon teaching them for our living; but we should be guided by them, not limited by them. The syllabi we are obliged to teach must work as the starting points of our research and we must make effort to reach beyond them. If we can do that, I am hopeful that we will find many interesting points and ideas and topics to deliberate upon.

There is yet another aspect of the connotation of the term 'Classical Sanskrit' that has generally missed our attention so far. Speaking of the Creative works of Sanskrit Literature, we tend to divide them into two classes : Classical and Modern. By 'Classical' we generally tend to refer to the works of authors from Bhāsa to Rājaśekhara. This covers the period of about twelve centuries - 2nd Cent. B.C. to 11th Cent. A.D. On the other hand, by 'Modern' we normally understand literature mainly of the last one or two centuries, but at the most that of the post-Jagannātha period. Thus, in our conceptual framework we have not been aware of the creative

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literature of the period of about five to six centuries - roughly from 11th-12th to 16th-17th centuries. There are reasons for such mindset. Literary historians - Winternitz, Keith and De and following them many others - have impressed on our minds that the post - Bhavabhūti Sanskrit literature has consistently shown more and more signs of a decadent literature. They may not be entirely wrong. But this has made us almost wilfully forget that the stream of Sanskrit literature in India has never stopped even during the period between 11th and 17th centuries. Only, it was passing through a new phase and has tried to imbibe some of its characteristics also. The second millennium in the history of India saw among her peoples a greater sense of regional identity through the rise and development of regional languages and literatures. A greater awareness of regional cultural traditions was noticeable; regional forms of folk-arts were developing; for example, in Gujarat were seen the folk-forms of *Bhavāi* in drama, *Rāsa* and *Garabā* in group-dance, *Padas* and *Ākhyānas* in poetry, Māṇabhaṭṭa institution in narrative-recitals and so on; in Maharashtra, *Lāvaṇī* and *Povāḍā* and *Tamāśā* were evolving; or *Yātrā* in Orissa & Bengal; *Yakṣagāna* in Karnatak; *Rāmalīlā* and *Nauṭaṅkī* in Uttar Pradesh and so on. But even among such plethora of local art-forms and their appropriate literature in regional languages, writing in Sanskrit has continued, may be in rather restricted circles of learned and elites, but it has never stopped. Various authors in different and distant parts of this vast sub-continent have continued to create literature in Sanskrit. As in performing arts, so in literature, the authors have on the one hand tried to adhere to the traditional forms, while on the other hand have also tried to assimilate some of the characteristics of the locally evolving folk-forms of art. The greatest examples of such experiments in assimilation are the *Gīta-govinda* in the Eastern and *Dūtāṅgada* and *Hanuman-nāṭakam* in the Western parts of India. It has been observed recently that *Hanumannāṭakam* is the oldest example of the type of *Chāyā-nāṭakas* after *Dūtāṅgada* and both of them belong to Gujarat. (*vide* : the article of Vijay Pandya '*Hanumananāṭakam*- Date & Place of its Origin', *Anusandhāna*, Vol. 18, 2001. *H. Bhayani Comm. Number*, 2001). But even apart from this, Gujarat has a continuous

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history of Sanskrit dramatists and poets - Rāmacandra, Yaśaḥpāla, Rāmabhadra, Jayasiṁha *et al.* in 12th century; Yaśaścandra, Subhaṭa, Prahlādana, Someśvara *et al.* in 13th; Mokṣāditya in 14th, Rāmadeva Vyāsa and Neminātha in 15th, Gaṅgādhara *et al.* in 16th, Vādīcandra in 17th (and the tradition continues even later to this day, Durgeśvara, Meghavijaya, Bhūdeva Śukla in 18th, Jagannātha, Bālakṛṣṇa, Śāstrī Śaṅkaralāla *et al.* in 19th and Nāgaradāsa Paṇḍyā, Mūlaśaṅkara Yājñika, Medhāvrata Śāstrī, Gajendraśaṅkara Paṇḍyā, J. T. Parikh, Janak Dave, Ghansyam Trivedi and many others in 20th cent.). I am sure there must have been a similarly continuous history of Sanskrit writers in other regions also. We have hardly paid any attention to them; we have let them remain buried in the heaps of manuscripts. They need to be unearthed and studied and given their proper place in the history of Classical Sanskrit literature in this Section.

There is also one vast form of Sanskrit literature to which we have not paid much attention to so far. It is the Commentary literature. Beginning from the great *Bhāṣyas* of our *ācāryas* like Śaṅkara, Kumārila & Prabhākara, or earlier still from Yāska's Nirukta and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, this form of explanatory and interpretative literature has proliferated into the field of Classical creative literature also. One of the earliest commentators of Kālidāsa's works is Vallabhadeva, and he belongs to the first quarter of the 10th century A.D. But from around the turn of the first millennium, there has been a great surge in the commentary literature which continues and expands through centuries almost till the advent of the modern age i.e. upto the end of the 18th century. The rise and growing importance of the regional language and literature explains the necessity of and expansion in this sort of explanatory literature. We have such great names among commentators of creative literature like Vallabhadeva, Rāghavabhaṭṭa, Vīrarāghava, Pūrṇasarasvatī, Ghanaśyāma (and his two wives Kamalā and Sundarī !), Mallinātha, Jagaddhara, Tripurāri, Ḍhuṇḍhirāja, Abhirāma, Kāṭayavema, Śivarāma, Raṅganātha, Kṛṣṇapati *et al.* There are literally hundreds of commentaries, many of them printed but many more still

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lying only in manuscripts. Here the young scholars of Classical literature have vast verdant pastures untrodden for the most part so far. There are in these commentaries points of interest on interpretations of the text, discussions on variants, identification (and differences) of poetic elements like *Alaṁkāras* and *Sandhis-Sandhyaṅgas, guṇas* etc., revealing of the hidden implications, judgements on the poets' expressions and their appropriateness, poetic flair in the language of the commentaries themselves and their interpretative 'semantics', sometimes a general overview of the work and attempts at the assessment of the poet's performance, and at times even interesting cultural sidelights. Prof. N.V.P. Unithiri is prepared to concede the status of 'pure literature' to this group of works. In his words, "Many of these commentaries are important not only because they analyze, interpret and evaluate the original works on the basis of human experience and aesthetic values, but also because they can stand as pure literature" (Unithiri N.V.P., "Commentarial Literature in Sanskrit", *Brahmavidyā*, Vols. 44-45, Adyar, 1980-81, p. 572). We may not be able to share the Professor's enthusiasm to consider it as pure literature, but it speaks well for the value of this class of literature. There are some good introductions to the individual critical editions of a few of such well-known commentaries but we have at least two excellent pointer studies of the richness of this field untapped so far. One is Prof. T.G. Mainkar's *Studies in Sanskrit Dramatic Criticism* (Motilal Banarasidass, 1971). The second is Prof. Radhavallabh Tripathi's *Kālidāsa kī Samīkṣā-paramparā* (in Hindi, Sanskrit Department, Dr. H.S. Gaur University, Sagar, 1988). Even a glance at either of them will convince the young scholars that this comparatively new field of studies has the potential of both enriching their scholarship as well as contributing to worthwhile and meaningful research.

There is yet another source from which a scholar of Classical Creative Sanskrit Literature can draw inspiration and benefit. It is the theories of Western criticism. Since the times of introduction of University education in India, English literature and Western criticism have greatly influenced our literature and literary thinking.

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While Indian theories of criticism have mainly grown into two or three traditions, in the West there have come up number of independent, at times even contradictory theories of literary criticism, particularly in the recent past. Thus, the critical theories of Formalism or Structuralism or Deconstruction or Reader's Response or mythical or symbolic approach or Deviation or Stylistic analysis or Archetypal analysis have their independent approaches to literary creations and we have here a rich variety of critical approaches from which to examine our Sanskrit classics. Even traditional Western theories can be applied to analyze our classic models. Very few attempts have been made in this direction (like S. Ramaratnam,-"Elements of Farce in the Plays of Murāri and Jayadeva", *Brahmavidyā*, Vol. 56, 1992; K. Kurtakoti's '*Madhyamavyāyoga*' in *East West Poetics at Work* Ed. C.D. Narasimhaiah, Delhi, 1994). More attempts have been directed in the other direction, i.e. Indian critical theories - *Dhvani* and *Vakrokti* and *Rasa* -have been applied to Western models - of course, to prove the universality of our Indian principles of Criticism. But attempts in the reverse direction will also prove beneficial in the sense that validity of the theories or principles or approaches from Western critical traditions will be tested when put to application to Indian Classical Models.

Our Classics may also be examined under different Western ideologies like Marxism or Hermeneutics. Such attempts have also been made. Walter Ruben's *Kālidāsa - The Human Meaning of His Works* (New Delhi, 1984) is a famous example of how a Marxist would look at our Ancient Sanskrit Classics and it fails utterly to grasp the real meaning of the work. Such attempts are for the most part misplaced and better eschewed.

The best approach to reach to the heart of our Sanskrit Classics would be to examine them from our own native tools of criticism. As A.K. Warder shows, "the literature studied should be presented on its own terms....No literature, least of all a highly sophisticated movement such as *kāvya*, can be understood unless we know

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what its creators were trying to achieve and what sort of contemporary criticism they may have hoped to satisfy". (*Indian Kāvya Literature*, Vol. 1, Preface, p. viii, Delhi, 1972). That is why he devotes the entire first volume of his history (*Indian Kāvya Literature* in several volumes) to enunciate solely the principles of Indian literary criticism in all its details. That is how we expect our younger scholars to focus their critical acumen on the less-studied classical writers, to unearth and examine our post-Rājaśekhara and pre-Jagannātha works of Sanskrit literature, trying to assess their achievements in the light of their aspirations and critical atmospheres, and to take help in their attempts at assessments of our ancient Sanskrit writers from our learned Sanskrit commentaries and commentators, and to make use of Western critical theories and principles to our time-tested classics only with a view to testing the validity of the foreign tools and not to disparage our country's finest achievements. Even Western scholars like Edward Gerow (*vide* his essays "Plot-structure and the Development of Rasa in the Śākuntala", J.A.O.S., 99.4, 1979 and 100.3, 1980; or his "Bhāsa's Ūrūbhaṅga and Indian Poetics", J.A.O.S., 105.3, 1985) and A.K. Warder and D.D.H. Ingalls (*An Anthology of Indian Court Poetry*, H.O.S. 44, 1965) have followed these principles with such perfection as to set ideals for our own younger scholars.

So, may the young scholars succeed in their path to reinterpreting their great literary heritage.

I thank you all for your kind co-operation.

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લેખકોને :

૧. પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, ટાઈપ અથવા કૉમ્પ્યુટરમાં તૈયાર કરેલા અને એ શક્ય ન હોય તો શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા. ટાઈપ/કૉમ્પ્યુટર નકલમાં ભૂલોને સુધાર્યા પછી જ લેખ મોકલવો. ગૂજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડાગીકોશ પ્રમાણે જોડાણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. લેખની કાર્બન નકલ મોકલો ત્યારે તે અંગેનું સ્પષ્ટ કારણ જણાવવું.

૨. લેખમાં અવતરણો, અન્ય વિદ્વાનોનાં મંતવ્યો ટાંકવામાં આવે તો તે અંગેનો સંદર્ભ પૂરેપૂરી વિગત સાથે આપવો અનિવાર્ય છે. પાદટીપમાં એ સંદર્ભની વિગત આપતાં લેખક અથવા સંપાદક/સંશોધક (અટક પહેલી), ગ્રંથ, પ્રકાશક, પ્રકાશનવર્ષ, આવૃત્તિ, પૃષ્ઠ એ ક્રમ જાળવવો જરૂરી છે.

૩. 'સ્વાધ્યાય'માં છપાયેલ સર્વ લેખોનો કૉપીરાઈટ મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ યુનિવર્સિટી, વડોદરા હસ્તક છે. લેખકે અથવા અન્ય કોઈએ લેખમાંનો કોઈ અંશ લેખિત પરવાનગી વગર પુનર્મુદ્રિત કરવો નહીં.

૪. સંક્ષેપશબ્દો પ્રયોજતા પહેલાં એ શબ્દો અન્ય સ્થાને પૂરેપૂરા પ્રયોજેલા હોવા જોઈએ.

૫. પાદટીપોનો ક્રમ સળંગ રાખી જે તે પૃષ્ઠ ઉપર તે તે પાદટીપોનો નિર્દેશ જરૂરી છે.

સ્વાધ્યાય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક
સંપાદક : મુકુંદ લાલજી વાડેકર

વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે - વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક, જન્માષ્ટમી અંક, અને દીપોત્સવી અંક

લવાજમ :

- ભારતમાં ..... રૂા. ૪૦.૦૦ (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)
- પરદેશમાં ..... યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઑફ અમેરિકા માટે ..... ૧૨.૦૦ ડૉલર (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)
- યુરોપ અને અન્ય દેશો માટે ..... પૌ. ૭.૦૦ (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)

આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા ગ્રંથ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમ વર્ષ જાન્યુઆરીથી ડિસેમ્બર સુધીનું ગણાય છે, જે આ સરનામે મોકલવું.

નિયામકશ્રી, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર,
મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે, રાજમહેલ રોડ,
વડોદરા - ૩૯૦ ૦૦૧.

જાહેરાતો :

આ ત્રૈમાસિકમાં જાહેરાત આપવા માટે લખો

સંપાદક, 'સ્વાધ્યાય',
પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર, મ.સ. વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે, રાજમહેલ રોડ, વડોદરા - ૩૯૦ ૦૦૧.

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TRUTH IN LITERATURE : MODERN SANSKRIT POETRY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO *SANDHĀNAM*

SHARMILA BAGCHI*

It is difficult for a student of literature to explain the concept of truth in philosophy. But, the concept of truth in literature also is not very clear because all the truths are not universal. Something which seems true today may not be invariably so tomorrow. It is true especially in the world of literature for its trends keep on changing. So, at first, I would like to give my impression of truth in literature which I gathered after going through orientation lectures and books.

Keats said - Truth is beauty, beauty is truth - a metaphorical and a philosophical statement. Here literature stands for poetry and the author/creator for poet. Truth is correspondence of correctness and coherency; correspondence with parts of environment. The interpretation of the description should result in the object described.

In literature, situations are presented to us often in fantastic and imaginary garb which we accept to a greater or lesser extent. Sometimes, we relish strangeness and absurdity as in '*Alice in Wonderland*' or we may be charmed by Dante's vision of the world, yet, we feel the incredibility of his image of hell. There are many ways in which one can enjoy a work of art without direct acceptance of its realism or of the similarities of situations and characters to the world around us. Of course, if there is no resemblance or relationship at all- a work of art should stand only for itself, and indeed some do just that. It is a fact that some beautiful and surprisingly

Journal of The Oriental Institute, Vol. LI, Nos. 1-2, September-December, 2001 pp. 149-155.

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great poems and plays are utterly devoid of philosophic content. But, one should remember that the desire to find a thesis in, say a novel or fiction or poetry, can take us away from the pure aesthetic or sensual pleasure to be found there.

True poetry is that where the reader identifies himself or herself with the situation. But, again, over-identification with a character in a work of literature destroys its value as art. It becomes a part of life itself, arousing wholly immediate and practical responses, Art succeeds only when some distance is maintained. Aesthetic distance arises from the response to characters and events as others though in contrast to Science, other - as concrete and particular, rather than general and abstract. Acceptance of this side of the aesthetic value suggests that characters are particular, events are concrete and that generalization is wholly out of place in art. It too would remain other, without concern for reader, therefore, without import or value. If the characters in literature are by themselves, implying nothing about mankind, representing nothing, then literature can not offer insight or truth about man or the world in general.

The antipodean view is that there are no ethical truths, no messages to be learnt, only attitudes which vary from person to person. One can not learn what is good or right, for there is nothing that is truly so. There are only feelings or attitudes different men have towards things around them. Thus, when two persons dispute on ethical matter, they cannot properly settle their dispute as they might have, if the issues were a factual one, by collecting evidence. They can only try to persuade each other.

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While talking about aesthetic distance, it may be noted that, too much distance is also unrealistic and valueless, as it hardly produces any response at all. This fact suggests that somehow the events, characters and situations in works of literature must be made a part of the reader's life or he will be unable to respond at all. The very substance of literature, however, is found in the personal feelings of the characters and the experiences they undergo and the choices they make. A poem or a story or a novel becomes vital only when it either arouses our sympathies or our personal identification of feelings and emotions therein, though to some extent. On this level, events portrayed, choices shown, characters revealed, situations set-forth are human events and situations, human choices and characters. It is impossible to avoid the kind of generalisation that is intellectual and philosophical when confronted with these issues.

So, it could be stated that portrayal of events, pertaining to the human situations, choices and characters is the truth in literature. Truth depends on the correspondence between the parts of the concept-network and the parts of the environment and this correspondence is determined by the cognitive agents themselves which would naturally reflect their cultural and individual background.

Coming to the other part of topic about poetry, I may refer to Aurobindo's quotation 'Poetry is the *Mantra* of Real.' Here the word 'real' means truth, because, reality is difficult to describe in ordinary language. It can not be communicated. So when we are forced to describe the indescribable, then poetic language is a must for us and so does the poetry come into existence.

Talking about modern Sanskrit poetry- let us remember Mammaṭa's '*Kāvya-prayojanas - Kāvyam yaśase arthakṛte vyavahāravide* - poetry for the sake of fame, wealth and to know people's behaviour. All these three *Prayojanas* are still relevant

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in Sanskrit poetry. The Sanskrit poetry has totally changed its form and style since the age of *Ādikavi* Vālmīki. It will be unrealistic to judge Modern Sanskrit Poetry in the frame work of traditional Sanskrit poetic rules, as the subject matter as well as the style of the language have changed with the times. Like any other modern language, it has changed its course and all components are there in it to make it more human. We all know and it has been mentioned again and again that in Indian tradition of philosophy - all philosophers were poets and all poets were philosophers, starting from the Vedic period. We all know about the classical Sanskrit poetry of Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Māgha and many more as they have become legends. With reference to metaphor - *Ṛṣi* Aurobindo's '*Śāvitrī*' has been mentioned here and can be taken as a representative of modern Sanskrit poetry. I would like to mention the name of Aurobindo's another lesser known book '*Bhavānī Bhāratī*' - a *khaṇḍa-kāvya* related to Indian Freedom Movement.

Well, here-I have selected a collection of short poems named '*Sandhānam*' composed by Prof. Dr. Radha Vallabh Tripathi* to see how far the truth is prevailing in Modern Sanskrit Poetry and how various metaphors help to present reality. This book is just a representation of the lot.

'*Sandhānam*' means 'search' and it seems as if the poet is in search of his inner-self. It is a collection of 53 poems which are divided into five sections. The first section is '*Antarjavanikā*' and we find it a metaphorical term as literally it means inside curtain and in the eleven poems, the poet brings out his inner-self and

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* Prof. Dr. Radha Vallabh Tripathi is the Head of the Department of Sanskrit in Dr. Hari Singh Gaur Vishvavidyalaya, Sagar (M.P.). Currently he is in Silpa-coru University of Bangkok as Visiting Professor for two years. He is bestowed the Sahitya Academy Award (for Sanskrit) in the year 1994 for '*Sandhānam*' - Published by Sanskrit Parishad, H. S. Gaur, University, Sagar, (M.P.), 1989; Price : Rs. 25/-; pp. 119.

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experiences. There is a poem called '*Jīvanavyākaraṇa*' (p. 12), again a metaphorical name and I would like to quote a few lines as therein, the poet has beautifully synthetized the grammatical terms with the irony of life -

न गुणं प्रापिताः केचिन्न वा वृद्धिमुपागताः ।
इतो लोप इव च्छिन्ना मनस्येव मनोरथाः ॥
उत्थिताः पतितास्तास्ताः प्रत्याहारविवर्जिताः ।
क्विप्प्रत्ययनिभा आशा विलीयन्ते क्वचित् तथा ।
सप्रत्ययपरामृष्टाः कृदन्तं गमिता अपि ।
सकर्मका अहो जाताः सोपवर्गाः क्रिया वृथा ॥ (p. 12)

We may take it as an example of analogy. '*Bahirjavanikā*' again a metaphorical term deals with various subjects of the world. The poems given under this section are philosophical. One of the poems is '*Rājyamahotsava*'. In this poem, we can visualize the hollowness of the so-called intellectual seminars of the present days. Though, here he has chosen the background of royal conference of intellectuals over which a king has to preside (and he never turns up), the scene can be easily shifted to the present time which makes it contemporary in modern terms. The end of the poem is very amusing -

अधोमुखी च निर्याता शालायाश्च यदा पुनः ।
गम्भीरमुखमुद्राणां विदुषां पञ्चविंशतिः ॥
ताम्बूलस्थापणे गृह्णन् मुखे ताम्बूलवीटिकाम् ।
नरः कश्चन वाचालः पृष्टवान् पार्श्ववर्तिनम् -
कस्यैषा शवयात्राद्य पथि गच्छति सम्मुखम् ? ॥ (p. 34)

The satire is visible in the 'metaphor'. In the same way in another poem '*Satī*'-*upamāna-upameya-abhedatā* is remarkable. Humanity is described here as the 'bride' which is burnt alive. This poem also indicates the crude revival of '*Satīprathā*' in some parts of the country. (p. 46)

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Modern communal minded religious leaders have also been hinted at in the poem '*Dharmācārya*' -

तथाकथितधर्मस्य कन्थां जर्जरतां गताम् ।
धारयन्नात्मना तुष्टो धर्माचार्यः सुखीयति ॥

'Tattered Shawl' or '*Jarjaratām gatām kanthām*' is a very appropriate metaphor for '*tathākathitadharmasya*' (so-called-religious leaders). How unconventional metaphors can emphasize the truth can be seen in the poem '*Nidāghalaharī*', like the extremes of the extremists, the heat of the summer torments people !

दाहं दाहमयं लोकानीतिभीतीः प्रसारयन् ।
आतङ्कवादिखलवन्निदाघो दाघमश्नुते ॥ (p. 76)

Another beautiful example is the poem '*Kavismṛti*', where borrowed metaphors have been used -

यक्षो मनो मदीयं कविता त्वलकापुरी त्वदीया सा ।
मध्ये च वर्तमानो विलम्बते कालमेघोऽयम् ॥
रामगिरौ संसारे जीर्णारण्ये मुहुर्मुहुः प्लुष्टः ।
दवदहनज्वालाभिश्चिन्तासन्ततिभिरहमनिशम् ॥ (p. 114)

Kālidāsa's '*Meghadūta*' has become metaphor here. Kālidāsa seems to be a favourite metaphor to the poet as yet again in his poem, '*Umāmāheśvarī*' he uses '*Abhijñānaśākuntalam*' as metaphor. (p. 119)

Like all other modern poets, politics and politicians seem to be the favourite objects of the poet. Gone are the days of Sanskrit poetry when similes for clouds were drawn from nature or from the beauty of women. The changing morals of the politicians deeply hurt the poet. The '*Janatālaharī*' depicts the existing, political structure as it is (p. 91). In one of the '*Dhruvāgītayaḥ*' (p. 99), we find him

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complaining about the materialistic attitude and the consumer culture of our time where everything can be bought and sold in '*Vikrayagītam*'.

गीतं क्रीतं शब्दाः क्रीताः
मधुमयभणितिर्हट्टं नीता ।
नादब्रह्म विक्रीतं चैव
विदुषां सदसि कविसम्मेलने ॥ (p. 114)

Even the brutal murder of Safdar Hashmi (on 1 Jan., 1980) gets a place in the book.

In conclusion, we can say that the subjects chosen by the poet are quite unusual for the traditional literature, but, the language used in the poems is very easy and flexible and confirms the *Naiyāyika* view that language speaks of reality and reality alone. As Dr. Sundararajan[1] has said 'there is a new sensibility in now-a-day's language' and it can be felt while going through the modern Sanskrit poetry. There are many more names who are trying go give a new meaning to Sanskrit poetry by introducing modern popular trends. I would like to give a very fine example of socio-cultural metaphor which has the sensibility of the language as well as a new style. This is from : '*Nagaram*' poem of Shri Harsha Dev Madhav, written in Hyko style (a Japanese prosodial - having three lines in a verse) -

बुद्धस्य भिक्षापात्रे
निमज्जितमस्ति
अणुबोम्बदग्धनगरम् ।

1. Dr. Sundararajan was the Convenor of the Seminar who spoke thus in his opening speech. The Research Seminar on "Metaphor in Philosophy and Truth in Literature" was held at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla in 1995, where this paper was presented by the author.

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वर्ष : ५६, अङ्क : १-२, जून-सितम्बर २००१

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द्विवेदी पारसनाथ : वेदान्तमीमांसाशास्त्रारम्भणं युक्तम्

पाण्डेयः कपिलदेव : पूर्वमीमांसादर्शने प्रमाणमीमांसा

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अधिकारी हरिप्रसाद : जैनदर्शनपर्यालोचनम्

शर्मा बालकृष्ण : भवभूतिनाट्यसाहित्ये गुम्फिता पर्यावरणचेतना

पाण्डेयः वृजेशमणि : साहित्यशास्त्रे ध्वनिसिद्धान्तः

वर्षः : ५६, अङ्कः : ३-४, दिसम्बर-मार्च २००१-२००२

मिश्रोऽभिराजराजेन्द्रः : संस्कृते प्राविधिकविज्ञानम्

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LATE DR. S.G. MOGHE
(23.12.1935 - 24.5.2004)

OBITUARY

Late Dr. Shantaram Ganesh Moghe

The sad demise of Dr. Shantaram Ganesh Moghe on the 24th May 2004 at the age of sixty-nine at Dhule was indeed a severe blow to the world of research scholars in the field of Sanskrit and Indology. For the last few years, he was suffering from liver cirrhosis, which ultimately proved fatal to his life.

In the galaxy of the distinguished students of Late Prof. H.D. Velankar, Dr. Moghe was particularly a brilliant star. Under the guidance of this renowned Indologist' Dr. Moghe got his Ph.D. degree for his thesis on the topic '*Mīmāṁsā in the Bhagavanta Bhāskara of Nīlakaṇṭha*' from the University of Mumbai. He was highly acclaimed for his profound scholarship in the realm of *Mīmāṁsā* and *Dharmaśāstra.* In his book '*Studies in Applied Pūrva Mīmāṁsā*' which is a collection of twenty-two papers published in various research Journals, Dr. Moghe has presented a very wide outlook in the subject of *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā* as applied to other branches of Sanskrit Study. For instance, he has ably discussed the importance of the application of the *Mīmāṁsā* rules of interpretation to the well-known *Rasa* theory in the Sanskrit poetics, to the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* and also to the theory of word-economy and Ṛgvedic Interpretation. He has advocated the evolutionary theory of the *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā* doctrine in his papers on *Atideśa, Ūha, Punarvacana* and *Vākyabheda.* He has significantly pointed out Śaṅkarācārya's approach to *Arthavāda,* mostly neglected by the scholars.

His attempt to present before the readers Kālidāsa's knowledge of *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā* is really very interesting.

Even a cursory glance over the list of his published works mentioned at the end of this article would sufficiently indicate the wide, comprehensive and exhaustive nature of his research work. The most prominent and prestigious one is of course the voluminous work entitled '*Bhārataratna Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. P.V. Kane's History of Dharma-Śāstra in Essence*' whereby Dr. Moghe's name has been

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inseparably associated with 'that towering personality and doyen of Sanskrit scholars in the domain of research and particularly the Dharma-Śāstra research.' The trustees of MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Memorial Trust assigned this monumental project to him and no one can ever gainsay that Dr. Moghe has fully justified the confidence they had shown in his remarkable ability. The original work of MM. P.V. Kane in seven volumes covering more than six thousand five hundred pages and the first volume revised in mid-sixties contain such extensive discussion on Smṛtis, numismatics, epigraphy, lexicography etc. that these volumes were used mainly by scholars for purpose of references. Dr. Moghe's work has satisfied the pressing need of making available the contents of these volumes in a concise form to non-specialist general readers in India as well as in other English speaking countries. Dr. Kane's work was published over a long period of four decades, so the discussions on particular topics by Dr. Kane are to be found not only in different volumes of the *History of Dharma-Śāsta* but also in other books and journals. In his condensed version, Dr. Moghe has attempted to present coherent and consistent accounts of all such discussions. For the benefit of readers he has also provided summaries of the chapters and the long sections in the original work.

Dr. Moghe attempted to discharge the *Ācārya-ṛṇa* to some extent by writing *Academic Biography of Prof. H.D. Velankar*, which was a part of the centenary celebrations of his Birth Anniversary. It is indeed a peculiar form of biographical literature in which Dr. Moghe has ignored all other details of the personal life of Prof. Velankar and has exclusively concentrated on his academic achievements and the precious treasure of his thoughts as reflected in his writings. This work was so inspiring that it was proposed by some lovers of the great Indologist Dr. R.N. Dandekar that his biography also should be written in a similar manner. It was indeed creditable to Dr. Moghe that when this proposal was under discussion, Dr. Dandekar himself had strongly recommended his name as a competent scholar to undertake this task. Unfortunately, however, the proposal could not be materialized due to some inevitable difficulties.

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Dr. Moghe started his career as a lecturer in Sanskrit in the Govt. Colleges in Mumbai and Aurangabad and he was gracing the chair of the Reader when he accepted the voluntary retirement in 1994. He was extremely popular among students as an excellent teacher and he had successfully guided six students for the Ph.D. degree of the University of Mumbai and the Marathwada University, Aurangabad. He was also the chairman of the Board of Studies in Sanskrit in the Marathwada University. He was awarded the prestigious Springer Research Scholarship by the University of Mumbai to work on the topic "*Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā and Alaṅkāraśāstra*". Similarly the University Grants Commission, Delhi, had sanctioned him the necessary study grant to work on Kullūka Bhaṭṭa's *Śrāddhasāgara.* He was honoured by the Government of Maharashtra as a distinguished Sanskrit Scholar in the year 1993.

Though Dr. Moghe was known for his rigorous logical acumen, his heart was always overwhelmed by the sentiment of devotion. He was a very ardent and sincere devotee of His Reverence Śrī Vāsudevānanda Sarasvatī. He has written his biography in Marathi to mark the occasion of the Sesqui-centenary celebration of his birth Anniversary and it is followed as a gospel by the Swamiji's devotees. Needless to say that his personal life was absolutely pure and chaste. He had silently practised the principle of charity and offered financial assistance to several needy persons, purely out of sense of compassion without expecting anything in return.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that Dr. Moghe was an embodiment of intelligence, industriousness, sincere friendship, unchanging affection and unflinching devotion. May his soul rest in peace.

Note :- Important published works of Dr. S.G. Moghe.

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Sanskrit

1. *Śānta-Ārāmaḥ*
2. *Haritoṣaṇam*

English

1. *Studies in Pūrva Mīmāṁsā*
2. *The Vyāghrasmṛti*
3. *Studies in Dharma-Śāstra*
4. *A Peep into Indology*
5. *The Śrāddhasāgara of Kullūkabhaṭṭa*
6. *Studies in Applied Pūrva Mīmāṁsā*
7. *Bhārataratna Dr. MM. P. V. Kane's History of Dharma-Śāstra in Essence*
8. *Some Aspects of the Studies of Dharma-Śāstra.*

Edited Works :

1. *Prof. Velankar and Vedic Interpretation.*
2. *Dr. Kane's Contribution to Dharma-Śāstra.*
3. *The Fifth Maṇḍala of ṚV.*

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1. *Academic Biography of Prof. H.D. Velankar.*
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Rd. No. 1,Malad (W), Bombay - 400 064.

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REVIEWS

Sadayavatsa-Kathānakam of Harṣavardhana Gaṇin, Ed. by Dr. Mrs. Pritam Singhvi, Pārśva Foundation Series No. 5, Pub. by Pārśva International Educational and Research Foundation, 4-A, Ramya Apartment, Opp. Kesav Petrol Pump, Polytechnic, Ambawadi, Ahmedabad, 380 015, 1999, pp. 4 + 101, Price : Rs. 60/-.

The story of *Sadayavatsa - Sāvaliṅgā* is a very popular tale-popular especially in Gujarat and Rajasthan. It is related in Prākṛta, Apabhraṃśa, Old Gujarātī and Rājasthānī (the latter two being off-shoots of Old Western Rājasthānī-O.W.R.) as also in Sanskrit. Later writers have given it a Jaina touch. The book under review gives its Sanskrit version penned by Harṣavardhana Gaṇin. As stated by Dr. Bhayani, it was composed in 1471 A.D. It is written in Sanskrit prose and verse, total number of verses being 369. So many *Subhāṣitas* not only in Sanskrit but in Prākṛta, Apabhraṃśa, Old Gujarātī and Rājasthānī inserted therein are found here and there throughout the text.

It was first published under the title '*Sadayavatsa-caritra*' by Shri Hiralal Hansaraj from Jamnagar as early as 1813 A.D. The editor, however, did not specify any particular manuscript as the basis of his text but has mentioned at the end that the original language was modified by him (p. 176 of his edition). Thereafter in 1932, Pt. Motisagar published '*Sadaiyavatsakumāra-caritram*', regarding the text of the former edition as authentic. Therein, he has given the text in an altogether new fashion. It becomes evident from this that the genuine Text of Harṣavardhana Gaṇin could not be published till the publication of the present book. It presents the text from a manuscript dated V.S. 1528 (1472 A.D.) preserved in the Ācārya Gaccha

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Bhaṇḍāra at Jesalmer and the transcript was prepared by Vijayacandra under the able supervision of Muni Jinavijayajī. The manuscript lacks folio No. 8.

The work narrates the wonderings of Śūdraka or Sadayavatsa (a son of Prabhuvatsa, the king of Ujjayini) and his wife Sāvaliṅgā (princess of king Śilavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna). He was banished from his kingdom by his father, of course wrongly, and Sāvaliṅgā accompanied him. Though a gambling addict, he was befriended by a goddess because of his self-sacrificing heroism and even by bandits knowing certain magic. The narration is presently a tale of adventures and heroism. He succeeded in all his adventures (and even in gambling), eventually becoming an emperor and winning the fortune of King Nanda. The story closes with his re-union with his father.

A summary of the tale has been given in Hindi at the close of the Text. The editor's Introduction '*Bhūmikā*' also is written in Hindi. A very interesting research article in English of Dr. H.C. Bhayani (pp. 86-101) on the *Śūdravatsa-kathā* and its various versions published in 1988 has been re-produced here which has indeed enhanced the importance and value of the book.

The story is written in easy Sanskrit in a story-telling style.

It is indeed a nice and very interesting addition to the corpus of folk-tales published so far for which the editor and the publisher deserve our congratulations.

'Vareṇyam',
69, Maneesha,
J.P. Road, Vadodara.

J. P. Thaker

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The Paippalāda-saṁhitā of the Atharvaveda, Vol. I, Ed. by Dipak Bhattacharya, Pub. by the Asiatic Society, 1, Park Street, Kolkata - 700 016. (Bibliotheca Indica Series Vol. 3187), 1997, pp. lvi + 4 + 840, Price : Rs. 1200/-.

According to one version the *Atharvaveda* (= AV) has nine recensions (*śākhās*), viz. *Paippalāda, Taṇḍa, Maṇḍa, Śaunaka, Jājala, Jālāda, Brahmavāda, Devādarśa* and *Caraṇavidya.* According to other versions, there are five or six or even more recensions, but out of these only two have come down to us; viz. *Śaunaka* and *Paippalāda* (*vide ibid,* Introduction, p. xi). The *Śaunakaśākhā* was first published in Berlin in 1856 A.D. by Roth and W.D. Whitney and thereafter it is published from several places (vide Winternitz M., *A History of Indian Literature,* Vol. I, Calcutta, p-120, fn. 2). It was after some years mutilated birch-bark ms. (= manuscript) of the *Paippalāda-Saṁhitā* in the *Śāradā* script was discovered and this came to be known as the Kashmirian *Atharvaveda* or the Kashmirian-version of it. The year 1959 A.D. was the epoch-making year, as it marked the 'surprising discovery of new manuscripts of the *Paippalāda*-recension of the *Atharvaveda* in Orissa by the late Durga Mohan Bhattacharya'. (vide Shastri Vishva Bandhu, General Presidential Address to the 24th session of AIOC, Varaṇasi, October, 1968; published in 1972, BORI, Poona, p. 10). 'This was an important event in the history of Modern Vedic Studies (*Op.cit.* p. 10). The Calcutta Sanskrit College, Calcutta issued its first Volume in 1964 and unfortunately Dr. Bhattacharya passed away in 1965 and now after such a long time, we have fortunately the first fifteen *Kāṇḍas* critically edited on the basis of the earlier ms. data plus some more data by Dr. Dipak Bhattacharya, the worthy son of Dr. Durga Mohan Bhattacharya. The remaining *Kāṇḍas* are awaited in the forthcoming second volume by the same editor. In this volume, the editor has tried, as noted above to include all the important information given by the late Dr. Durga Mohan Bhattacharya and moreover, he has utilised all the subsequent researches plus one more *Śāradā* ms. and the Oriya mss. discovered by Dr. D.M. Bhattacharya.

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The book is decorated with 'Foreword' (pp. vii-viii) by Dr. Chandan Roychaudhuri, General Secretary, Asiatic Society, Calcutta. It has a commendable 'Introduction', abbreviations (p. lvii), Contents (pp. lx-lxi) and the AV Text (pp. 1 - 840). The critical apparetus is given below the constituted Critical Text. Herein, the editor has inserted all the comments of his late father, which appeared important to him. He gives also the summary of the previous 'Introduction'. (*vide ibid*, p. vii). The 'Introdution' is divided into various sections, wherein he discusses the following points lucidly :-

I & II : Whereas, the Section I deals with the work started by Durga Mohan Bhattacharya. The Section II 'deals with the AV and the Discovery of the *Paippalāda-Saṁhitā*', The Section II is sub-divided into four sub-sections, viz. (a) the recensions of the AV and the Kashmirian AV; (b) the AV outside Kashmir [It is noted here that this *Śākhā* was cultivated in Karnataka, Gujarat and Bengal also] (c) the discovery of the palm-leaf mss., and (d) the importance of this discovery. The Section III deals with (a) the materials of this edition i.e. the palm-leaf mss. discovered by Dr. D.M. Bhattacharya, (b) oral tradition, (c) the Kashmirian ms. The Section IV gives a note on the transliteration of K (= Kashmirian version), whereas the Section V deals with the number of verses and hymns. The Section VI speaks of a serious conflation in K. The Table No. 3 here is important (pp. xxv-xxviii). Section VII speaks of the scope of the editorial work.

With reference to the presentation of the Critical Text, the editor observes that he has tried to make the presentation 'as faithful as possible to the Mss. and based on certain principles' inclusive of phonemic comparison as stated in the Introduction. The Section IX 'gives some necessary inferences for the readers, whereas the Section X gives' 'some comments on the Ms. variants' and the Section XI deals with a very important question : 'How far we can trace back the tradition ?'

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For such a nice Critical Edition, the editor deserves our hearty congratulations and encomia and we look forward for many more such works from his pen in the years to come.

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Opp. Kantareshwar Temple,
Vadodara.

S.G. Kantawala

GAṆEŚA : Unravelling an Enigma, by Yuvraj Krishan, Pub. by Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Private Limited, Delhi, 1999, pp. i - xxi + 235 + 182 illustrations, Price : Rs. 695/-.

The book under review presents a comprehensive study of the origin and development of the concept of Gaṇeśa and the cult which spread wide in the name of Gaṇeśa not only in India but among almost all the Countries of Asia. Originally the concept was as an evil spirit called Vināyaka but later on it assumed the form of the foremost deity who destroyed the hurdles from the life of his devotees and ensured success in all their religious and worldly undertakings.

The author considers Gaṇeśa to be a non-vedic god and traces his origin to the four Vināyaka, evil spirits of the *Mānavagṛhyasūtra,* 7th to 4th centuries B.C., who cause various types of evil and suffering. These Vināyakas are *grāmadevatās* or folk deities. These four evil spirits are amalgamated into one Vināyaka in the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti,* Ist to 3rd centuries A.D. *Skanda* is traced in the *Mahābhārata* as an evil spirit, a folk-deity, but he later becomes the leader of heavenly hosts and thus is joined to the ranks of Brahmanical gods. Vināyaka now becomes the leader of evil-causing followers of *Skanda,* namely *pramathas,* formentors, *bhūtas* and *piśācas,* kinds of ghost. In the *Yajñavalkyasmṛti,* Vināyaka is declared to be the son

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of Ambikā, Śiva's spouse, which is the first step towards Brahmanisation of Vināyaka. In Purāṇas and post-Gupta period, he becomes the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, and is appointed as the leader of *Rudragaṇas*, or Śiva's hosts. Thus Vināyaka becomes Gaṇeśa, the lord of Gaṇas and as such removes difficulties and impediments.

The *Vighnakartā* in this way becomes *Vighnahartā* and ensures success and is called *Siddhidātā*. The process of Brahmanisation of Vināyaka is complete in the Puraṇic age.

The admission and rise of Gaṇeśa in the Brahmanical Pantheon is vividly reflected in Art. Originally as Vināyaka, he is two-armed, but as Purāṇic God he is represented as having four or more arms, usually bearing *modaka*, (sweet ball), *aṅkuśa* (goad), *pāśa* (noose), and a tusk. Initially he is a *dvāradevatā*, a gate-guardian in Śiva's temples. Later on he is depicted in company of *Saptamātṛkas*, seven goddesses, on the walls of the *agramaṇḍapa*, the forepart of temple. Still later he becomes one of the *parivāra-devatā*, one among the family of Śiva. Eventually independent shrines are constructed for Gaṇeśa, in which he is the main deity. In the Puraṇas, we meet with detailed explanations as to how he was born of Śiva and Pārvatī, how did he acquire an elephant's head, Why he holds only one tusk, How the rat becomes his *Vāhana* (vehicle) etc.

Gaṇeśa's ascent in the Brāhmanical pantheon was accelerated, when a sect called *Gāṇapatyas* came into existence, who considered Gaṇeśa as the Supreme deity, higher than Śiva, Viṣṇu and Devī. He was worshipped as *Brahman, Paramātman*, the creator, the primordial *Puruṣa*. To sustain this position, they fabricated literature parallel to Śruti, Smṛti and Purāṇas. They interpreted the expression *Gaṇapati* at *Ṛgveda*, 11.23.1. *Gaṇānāntvā gaṇapatiṁ havāmahe*, as referring to the Paurāṇic *Gaṇapati* to give Vedic antiquity to Gaṇeśa. Thus Gaṇeśa

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became a member of the *pañcāyatana*, the five major gods of Hinduism, namely, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Durgā and Gaṇeśa.

In the post-Gupta period, 4th to 6th Centuries, Gaṇeśa was carried by the monks and merchants to Shrilanka, Burma, Indonesia, Champa, Cambodia and Thailand in the South-East Asia to Tibet and Mongolia in Central Asia and to China, Korea and Japan in East Asia. Thus, Gaṇeśa became a pan-Asian God, whereas the others remained largely national gods. The 182 illustrative plates given at the end of the book make the different versions of econographic representations of Gaṇeśa in these countries, clear.

The select bibliography, the author, title-index and the subject-index enhance the academic value of the book, which is sure to be received warmly by devotees of Gaṇeśa, students and scholars alike.

11, Vrajadarshan, R.T. Vyas
Opp. Vrajdham Mandir,
Manjalpur, Vadodara.

Harmless Souls, by W. J. Johnson, Pub. by M/s. Motilal Banarsidass, 41-U.A. - Bunglow Road, Delhi - 110 007, 1995, pp. : xii + 355, Price : Rs. 245/-.

'Harmless Souls' is a book written by Dr. W.J. Johnson who is specialising in Jain Philosophy. In this research work he has dealt with the works of Umāsvātī and Kundakundāchārya who were early Jain thinkers. It is known that as a system of thought and philosophy, Jainism has remained constantly uniform and its ideas have remained continuous. Especially its thought on the law of *Karma* has persisted throughout centuries. Author attempts to deal with this law and religious change brought in Jainism.

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In the beginning, author has undertaken the work of primary sources in early Jainism. The force of activity (*Yoga*) in bondage, action and intention has been taken up for consideration. There is comparison of Jain with Buddhist attitude to the problem of bondage. How does an ascetic encounter violence is a question replied at this stage. Besides this, the problem of householder and his status in the early texts has been thought. It is said that householder inevitably faces violence, bondage and circle of birth. The scriptures in original have been cited. The vow of *aparigraha* is treated and the doctrine of *Kaṣāya* is dealt with. It is pointed out that there is close association in Indian religious thought between asceticism and the idea that emotion stands as the main obstacle to salvation. In case of householder it is said that he should cultivate normative rule of restraint over the possessions. If he fails it creates *Karma* over individual soul. As regards the principle of *Karma* it is said that in Buddhism '*Karma*' is fully internalised to volition where as for the Jains it is still ultimately a matter of physical action.

In the chapter on Umāsvātī's Jainism, the problem of bondage according to *Tattvārthasūtra* has been undertaken. *Yoga* is the activity of body, speech and mind. It is influx. The relationship between *Āsrava, Saṁvara* and *Nirjara* is dealt with at length. It is generally held that activity accompanied with passions causes influx of *Karma* and other activity does not. It is also said that in the developed doctrine, presented by Umāsvātī for bondage to take place, that is for *Karma* to attach itself in the *Jīva*. There have to be two separate occurrences, (1) there has to be *Yoga* (activity) which causes an influx of Karmic matter, and (2) there has to be *Kaṣāya* which causes that Karmic matter to adhere to that *Jīva*. The writing by Umāsvātī in Sanskrit has been appreciated by the author. The problem as to how far a lay person can practise asceticism has been discussed. This is expressed theoretically by a soteriological gradation whose rungs are the fourteen *guṇasthānas*, the stages through which an individual passes on the way to *mokṣa*. It should be remembered that the canonical text which reflects the monk's view of the world, and the *Tattvārthasūtra*

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which reflects a wider view, co-exist. This reflects the way in which the two doctrines concerning bondage co-exist within the one religious system.

In part third Kundakundācārya's work, '*Pravacanasāra*' has been undertaken. Author believes that Kundakundācārya flourished in the beginning of the Christian era. It is held that the way in which Kundakunda uses the two truths (*Vyavahāra-naya* and *niścaya-naya*) seems much closer to Śaṅkara's distinction between *Vyāvahārika satya* and *Pāramārthika-satya* than to Buddhist one in case of *saṁvṛtti.* Further, according to Kundakunda, *Upayoga* composed of *Jñāna* and *Darśana,* is the self of the self, the *Ātman* of the *Ātman.* In *Pravacanasāra,* it is said, 'When the Self which has modified itself through *dharma,* it is joined to pure consciousness, (*samapayoga*), it attains the bliss of liberation (*nirvāṇa*) or if joined to auspicious consciousness it attains heavenly bliss. At times it is said that Kundakunda holds regarding the stages of Reality in the *Samayasāra* through his use of *Vyavahāra/ Niścaya* distinction which has more in common with *Mādhyamika* Buddhism and even more with *Advaita Vedānta* than with the *Anekāntavāda* of Jain philosophy.

The essential cause of bondage is the mistaken belief that the *Jīva* has some connection with what is *Ajīva.* Kundakunda has dwelt elaborately on the problem of attachment, delusion and *Karma.* It is known that according to Jain thought and with special reference to *Tattvārthasūtra,* there are twenty eight types of deluding *Karmas.* There is a division between perception-deluding and conduct-deluding *Karmas.* According to Kundakunda, it is to engender gnosis by eradicating delusion or realisation of the true nature of self and by that means one can trace the cause as well as the cure of bondage. It is said that 'Right faith, Right knowledge and Right conduct' are the paths of liberation. With regard to *Caritra,* it is said that conduct is '*Dharma*'. *Dharma* is defined as equanimity. It is modification of the Self which is free from delusion and disturbance. Pure self-awareness or self-knowledge is inextricable from *sāmayika* and it is for this that Kundakunda's ideal ascetic is

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striving. The author believes that soul is omniscient and is capable of shining in its splendour when *saṁvara* is removed. As regards true action author appreciates the idea of *Svadharma* as conceived by *Gītā*.

In part fourth of *Samayasāra*, Kundakunda is discussed and its real import has been put forward. '*Samaya*' means the recognition of Self and realisation of its unity. Here two points of view have been described as, 'From the point of view of modification the Self is destroyed; from another point of view, it is not. Here the two views relate to whether an object is viewed with regard to its modes or to its substance. The points of view are two fold : the one view is the conceptualisation that *Karma* is indeed bound to the *Jīva*, the other is that *Karma* is not bound to the *Jīva*. *Samayasāra* looks analogous to that state grasped by Nāgārjuna's '*Prajñā*' and characterised by *Paramārtha-satya*, viz., the direct realization of a higher ineffable truth, beyond conceptual truth and thought which is synonymous with liberation. The Real, according to *Mādhyamika*, is transcendent to thought. It is also compared with *Syādvāda* and *Anekāntavāda*.

It is said here that *Anekāntavāda* and *Syādvāda* are strategies for defending or evading criticisms of this dogma which may arise in debate with proponents of non-Jain doctrines. It is one of the features of *Samayasāra* that it takes established doctrines and at the same time, it is the very variety of text like the *Samayasāra* that the disparate doctrinal strands, they attempt to weave together. The emergence within this fabric of dominant patterns which make their study so important for any reconstruction of Jain religious history.

There are two important derivations which follow. First, the Self has, in essence, no place in the closed circle of cause and effect. It is a chain of Self perpetuating delusion. Ignorance produces *bhāvas*, which produce *Karmas* which produce more ignorance. The soul is not really bound; it is simply suffering from the delusion that bondage is its condition. The second point to arise is that this tenuous

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connection of the soul and *Karma* is broken altogether, once it is realised that binding ignorance is precisely the ignorance of the true relation of Self and *Karma.*

It is interesting to note that with the developing stress in Jain theory on knowledge and self-realisation as the means to liberation, there is increasing tendency to borrow Buddhist terminology; for Buddhism clearly has a more developed and sophisticated ready-made vocabulary for describing inner discipline and experience. In chapter eight, there is consideration of mechanism of bondage according to *Samayasāra.* Bondage is brought about by what is resolved whether one kills beings or not. The resolution to lie, to take what is not given, to be unchaste and to acquire property leads to the bondage of bad (*pāpa*) *Karma,* whereas the resolution to be truthful, to take only what is given, to be chaste and not to acquire possessions leads to the bondage of good (*puṇya*) *Karma.*

For *Jīva*'s resolution occurs with reference to an object, but bondage is not caused by that object; bondage is caused by resolution that is by the attitude towards the object. The *mahāvratas* have thus been internalised -a process familiar to us from Umāsvātī's '*kaṣāya*' doctrine.

In the last chapter which is ninth the topic of liberation according to *Samayasāra* has been discussed. According to Jain metaphysics, *dravya* and its *guṇa* are an indivisible and inseparable unity; neither can be present without the other. So, in this case, *Jīva* and *Jñāna,* Self or knower and knowledge are not different categories brought together by a third category, they are identical; the knower is essentially one with knowledge. It is meditation on the pure or unfied Self which is itself instrumental in realising or attaining that pure Self. Meditation on the Self comes to be seen as both the acme and index of right conduct. As the *gāthā* says, 'Meditation should be practised on knowledge, belief and conduct. But these three are the Self; therefore, practise meditation on the Self. The term used for meditation here is not '*dhyāna*' but *bhāvanā.* In early Jain text, *bhāvanā* is connected with the five *mahāvratas.*

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It is opined by the author that Jainism's life crisis rituals which strictly speaking are irrelevant to soteriology, are largely taken from Hindu models; its doctrines, if taken to their logical conclusions become so internalised and *Karma* is so dematerialised that the dividing line between such doctrines and those for instance, of *Sāṁkhya* and *Vedānta* becomes attenuated to the point of non-existence. Therefore, it becomes crucial to remain at some level the reality of the connection between the soul and physical *Karma*.

The author is successful in bringing the controversy between *Digambara* and *Śvetāmbara* with regard to ascetic practise and ritualism to light and suggest its positive solution. As Kundakundācārya is clear regarding the import of Jain thought regarding the doctrine of the Self leaning towards the purity, transcendence and abiding consciousness. It may be incidentally mentioned that Śri Kānji Swāmī who was head of Songadh *Digambara* sect and guided several Jain communities in Saurashtra thought on the concept of Self as pure and abiding consciousness which is the true jewel of Jain philosophy. It seemed he followed the teachings of '*Samayasāra*' in his learned talks. In this context, the nature of realisation is such that the Self not only is the true knower but true source of light and manifestation.

There are four appendices added with proper quotations. Bibliography and glossary are also provided for guidance of scholars. The author has distinctly contributed to research in Jain philosophy and especially to comparative studies in Indian thought. Libraries in the country ought to have it and scholars should read it for better enlightenment in Jain philosophy and religion.

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Vadodara.

Harsiddh M. Joshi

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Literary Gems from Sanskrit Literature, (A Study of Rare Manuscripts) by Dr. Siddharth Yeshwant Wakankar, Pub. by Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, Trinagar, Delhi-110 035, 2003, pp. 276, Price : Rs. 500/-.

The work under review is the work of a scholar who has been working on the Manuscripts right from the year 1977 and has earned good reputation as a 'Manuscriptologist.'

Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that his Ph.D. Thesis on the Critical Edition of *Yādavendra-mahodaya of Nīlakaṇṭha* with the Sanskrit commentary of V.S. Ranade, published in the year 2000, is described by Dr. V.M. Kulkarni as 'excellent' in the review on this book in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol. No. 75 for 2000, pages 188-189.

Dr. Wakankar deserves meed of praise for handling the manuscripts connected with different subjects such as *Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Campū, Stotra, Vedānta*, lexicons or dictionaries, *Śāstras* in Sanskrit concerned with *Vyākaraṇa, Nyāya, Sāhitya, Chandas, Pākaśāstra* otherwise known as Dietetics and the survey of the manuscripts preserved in the Oriental Institute, Baroda, and the library of the Asiatic Society of Bombay. He has, thus, covered a vast field for his manuscript work.

As regards the method or the treatment of the topic, it may be said that he has given complete information about the manuscript, whether it is published or not, about the author or the poet, his personal information, his probable date and his views on certain important topics. This treatment is, indeed, in keeping with the treatment which is generally followed by the scholars handling the Sanskrit manuscripts.

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His editing of the *Gaṇeśa-campū* by Cintāmaṇi with Sanskrit commentary, though incomplete, is a welcome addition to the *Campū* literature, the nature of which is discussed in the *History of Sanskrit Literature* written by the scholars like Keith, Winternitz, Karambelkar and others. One would be surprised to note that Dr. M.D. Paradkar who has taken the survey of the *Campū* literature in his Marāṭhī book entitled. '*Anusandhāna*' pp. 86-98 has not written a single line on this *Campū*.

His editing of the manuscript '*Gurjarī-śaṭakam*' of Devadatta, is certainly an addition to the *Śataka-kāvya*'s tradition. In this respect, a reference can be made to the article on the *Śataka-kāvyas* published in the *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapith*, Vol. No. 38-39 for 1982-83, pp. 189-215. In this poem, the poet has described the frolic of the Gujarati ladies on the bank of the river Sabaramati. Here the beauty of the ladies is fully described.

There is also a historical *kāvya* known as *Sayyābhidha-kāvyam* written by Ābā Kavi. Nothing is known about this poet Ābā. But this poem gives us information of the liberality of the King Sayāji Rao Gaekwad-III. In passing, it may be stated that this *kāvya* is accompanied by the Sanskrit *chāyā* of the *kavi*.

Another interesting aspect of this study is that Dr. Wakankar has dealt with the contribution of the Maharashtra scholar Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa Pāṭila of Wai, in the Satara District of Maharashtra. This author flourished probably in 1825 A.D. and wrote the works adding *naukā* at the end of the work. Thus, he has written on *Śuddhi-naukā, Kālanirṇaya-naukā, Jñāna-naukā*, etc.

His critical edition of the manuscript '*Vilāsa-mañjarī* of Vīreśvara, a Karnataka Brahmin deals with the *Hāsya-rasa* and *Śṛṅgāra-rasa* and here full scope is given to the *Uddīpana-vibhāvas* by the poet. This poem is, thus, interesting even from the point of the *Alaṁkāra Śāstra*, particularly dealing with the *Rasa* aspect of Indian literary criticism in a poetic form.

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His three articles dealing with a little-known Lexicon from the South, (XI) and *Avyayārṇava* of Jayabhaṭṭāraka exhibit his variety of dealing with indeclinables. An article on the dictionary of *Vedānta* in Sanskrit is also very useful for the workers in the field of *Vedānta.*

One would be happy to note that he has taken survey of the manuscripts preserved in the Oriental Institute, Baroda, and the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

The most important chapter of this book is 'Bibliography of the *Pākaśāstra*'. This article covers pp. 198 to 222. Here, we find manuscripts dealing with dietetics and also the instructions giving for the preparations of the medical drugs. On p. 205, there is a reference to the manuscript entitled '*Bhojana-kutūhala.* Here Dr. Wakankar has given the contents of this manuscript on pp. 206-207 of Raghunath Ganesh Navathe or Navahasta. Here attention may be drawn to the article of Dr. P.K. Gode on this manuscript published in the *Annals* of the B.O.R.I. Vol. XXII 1942, pp. 254 to 263. Dr. Wakankar has placed Raghunatha G. Navathe in the 17th Century A.D. But, P.K. Gode has placed him in the above mentioned article as falling between 1675 and 1709 A.D. If this is accepted, then Raghunatha G. Navathe will have to be placed between the later part of the 17th Century and the early part of 18th Century A.D. Gode has also dealt with another manuscript '*Bhojana-kutūhala*' of Raghunath Samji Nayak Punde who is placed by him between 1650 and 1685 A.D. This manuscript is described by Gode as contemporary manuscript of *Bhojana-kutūhala* of Raghunatha Navathe falling between 1675 and 1709. Dr. Wakankar should have consulted this article of Gode. This article is published in the *Journal of the University of Bombay,* (New Series), Vol. XIII Part 2, (September, 1944) pp. 40-45.

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There is another interesting manuscript called '*Tāmbūla-mañjarī*' No. 11150, folios-14, verses-223, in the Oriental Institute, Vadodara. But this manuscript is published by the late J.S. Pade Śāstri in the M.S. University of Baroda, Oriental Series No. 1, 1958. It is good that Dr. Wakankar has mentioned that this manuscript is published. On Tāmbūla, there is another manuscript '*Tāmbūla-kalpa-saṅgraha of Nṛsiṁhabhaṭṭa* C. 1350 A.D. pp. 25, Grs. 150. This manuscript is a transcript of the manuscript in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. This manuscript prohibits the chewing of *Tāmbūla* on six occasions. It is the well-known view of *Vyāghra-smṛti*, that the chewing of the *Tāmbūla* is prohibited on the occasions of *Darśa-śrāddha, Gayāśrāddha* and the *Śrāddha* that falls in the second fortnight. This is verse 62 of the *Vyāghra-smṛti* edited by Dr. S.G. Moghe for the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1985. Here it may be pointed out that Dr. P. K. Gode has already written a paper on this manuscript '*Tāmbūla-kalpa-saṅgraha*' of Nṛsiṁhabhaṭṭa for the *Poona Orientalist* Vol. XVIII, nos. 1-4 for 1955, pp. 1-3. Besides, there are three other papers of Gode on *Tāmbūla* for which attention is drawn to my book '*Some Aspects of the Studies of Dharma-śāstra*' p. 176 published by Bhāratīya Kalā Prakāśana-2003. Here a reference to the article of Gode in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. I, for 1952 pp. 1-3 will not be out of place.

In addition to this Dr. Wakankar has made a reference to Raghunātha, who flourished in the 17th Century and was patronished by queen Dīpā, the wife of Ekoji Bhosale of Tanjore. He was a friend of Saint Rāmadāsa of Maharashtra, and was for a long time in charge of the temple of Raghupati, built at Chaphal on the bank of the river Man, a tributary of Krishna. This information is important. On this point, attention may be drawn to the paper of Dr. P.K. Gode 'The Identification of Raghunātha', the Protege of Queen Dīpābaī of Tanjore and his contact with Saint Rāmadāsa between 1648 and 1882', published in the *Journal of Tanjore S.M. Library* (1942 Sept.), Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 1-12. Dr. Wakankar should have consulted this learned paper of Gode for the identification of Raghunātha.

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As regards the date of Śākalyamalla, also known Mallācārya or Bhaṭṭa-malla or Kalyamalla or Kavimalla or Mallayācārya mentioned on pages 141-142, something is to be quoted to support the view point of Dr. Wakankar who has placed him roughly in the 14th Century A.D. Dr. P.V. Kane in his '*History of Sanskrit Poetics*' pp. 294-295, refers to Pratāparudra as belonging to the *Kākatīya* dynasty in the foot-note no. 1 and states that he ruled in the last quarter of the 13th Century and the first quarter of the 14th Century and was captured by Muhammad Tughlak in 1323 A.D. He further refers to Kumārasvāmin, the son of illustrious Mallinātha, who refers to Bhaṭṭamalla in his commentary *Ratnāpaṇa* on the *Pratāparudrabhūṣaṇa.* As Śākalyamallabhaṭṭa was patronised by Pratāparudradeva, this date of the latter supports the contention of Dr. Wakankar. Further, the *Ākhyātacandrikā of Bhaṭṭamalla* is quoted by Kumāraswāmin in his commentary on the *Pratāparudrīya* edited by Dr. V. Raghavan. In this context, it may be noted that there is another writer Pratāparudradeva of the *Sarasvatī Vilāsa*, who belonged to the *Gajapati* dynasty. Burnell is wrong in treating him as belonging to the *Kākatīya - Gajapati* dynasty of Warangal. This Prtāparudradeva ruled from 1497 to 1539 A.D. at Cuttack and not at Warangal. Hence the two Pratāparudradevas are not to be mixed up. This is the information available in Dr. Kane's *History of Dharma-śāstra* Vol. I, Part II. pp. 875-876. Dr. Wakankar's proposed date of Śākalyamalla stands supported by Dr. Kane's discussion.

I would like to congratulate Dr. Wakankar for rendering invaluable service to the manuscriptology of which he is expert, for giving in the hands of the lovers of the Manuscripts, the true gems of Sanskrit literature. I wish that he should continue to make further progress in the field of manuscripts and in course of time, he will certainly rise to the position enjoyed by Dr. P.K. Gode for his manuscript work. I would further advise Dr. Wakankar to consult the published Bibliography of Dr. P. K. Gode, when he would further write on this subject. With these observations,

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I state that Dr. Wakankar has given inspiration to other younger scholars to work on the manuscripts, a field which is still to be explored and herein lies the importance of his work.

18, Lakshmi Nagar, Jogeshwari Krupa, S. G. Moghe
Devapur, Dhulia,
Maharashtra.

Tantra - In Practice, Ed. by David Gordon White, Pub. by M/s. Motilal Banarasidass, 41, U.A. Bunglow Road, New Delhi, Ist Edition, 2001, pp. xviii + 640, Price : Rs. 495/-.

Tantra in practice edited by David Gordon White is published by Shri Motilal Banarasidass Pvt. Ltd., Delhi. This book is a collection of thirty-six articles on various topics of the *Tantra* related to India, China, Japan & Tibet.

Tantra is a subject of practice. The only theory cannot fulfill our requirement for the knowledge of *Tantra.*

Introduction written by David Gordon White is very excellent and very informative. He is a Professor in the Department of Religious studies in the University of California, Santa Barbara. He is an ideal editor compiling all the Tantric articles in one volume. The author has arranged all the materials in a fascinating way from different regions, periods & traditions.

Various traditions like Buddhist tantra, Hindu tantra, Jain tantra and Islam tantra have been described related to various countries like India, Tibet, Japan, China and Nepal.

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Forty authors have contributed on different topics of *Tantra* science. Editor Prof. David Gordon White has classified all the articles in seven sections. Five articles on the topic of *gurus* and adepts, three topics on kings and priests, four for devotees and deities, four for traditions in transition and conflict, five on Tantric paths, six for rites and techniques and seven on *yoga* and meditation.

There are 20 articles related with Indian countries, 8 articles related with Tibet, 5 to Japan, 2 to China & 1 to Nepal. There are many misunderstandings regarding *Tantra*. Even elite persons have got false notions about the *Tantra* śāstra.

Tantra is derived from the root *tan*. There is a *Unādi sūtra* ***Sarvadhātubhyaḥ-stran*** (608) and this way the word *Tantra* is made. The *Tantra* means the way of *sādhanā* in which *yantra* and *mantra* are essential. *Tantra* is called *Āgama* too. *Āgacchanti buddhimārohanti yasmādabhyudayaniḥśreyasopāyāḥ sa āgamaḥ.*

The book *Tantra in practice* is the first substantial anthology of *āgama* work related to various traditions of various countries.

Tantric preceptors and their disciples are very very important in this path. Without *guru, śiṣya* can do nothing in this path. Same way *dīkṣā* (initiation) also has got very pivotal place in *Tantra*.

Here in this Tantric work, 39 contributors have contributed on various topics of the *Tantra*.

Tantra especially concerns with India. It is purely Indian body and afterwards it is extended in many other countries like Japan, Tibet, China, Nepal etc. So the divine energy comes through the knowledge of *Tantra*.

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'*A parody of the Kāpālikas in the Mattavilāsa*' by David N. Lorenzen, '*The wedding of Śiva and the goddess in Kulikāmnāya*' by Teun Goudriaan and '*A Tantric meditation on emptiness*' articles are very notable to read.

In short, this work is a unique work on the *Tantraśāstra.* I praise Prof. David Gordon White for the editing this nice book.

9/A, 'Surabharati', J. K. Bhatt
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Vadodara.

Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhavam with Śiśubodhinī Commentary by Sarvajñavanamuni, Ed. by Dr. N.V.P. Unithiri, Calicut University, Sanskrit Series No. 9, Pub. by Valsarajan P.V., Publication Officer, University of Calicut, Calicut-2002-pp. 240, Price : Rs. 100/-.

The book contains the *Śiśubodhinī* commentary of Sarvajñavanamuni on the *Kumārasambhavam* of Kālidāsa, which was still unpublished. The text of the *Kumārasamabhavam* is presented in bold letters alongwith the commentary on each verse, which is based upon the only manuscript (*codex unicum*), belonging to Shri M.G. Vazhunnavar of Kayyur in Kannur District, Kerala, which was discovered in course of Manuscript Survey in North Kerala, conducted by Dr. A.N. Aklujkar, in collaboration with Dr. N.V.P. Unithiri. It is a palm leaf manuscript in Malayalam Script with two folios missing, containing text only upto *Sarga* VII.92.

Sarvajñavanamuni was a sage by name Nityāmṛta, the disciple of Puruṣottamavanam. The word '*Vanam*' suffixed to the name suggests that he was an ascetic belonging to the Daśanāmins. He has also written a commentary on the

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Raghuvaṁśam which is reviewed elsewhere in this Issue. He is presumed to have flourished in about 16th century A.D. The special feature of the commentary is that the total number of verses & the metre of each canto are noted in the beginning or in the end of the commentary on each *sarga*. After a very brief three-page introduction, text of the commentary of each *sarga* along with the verses of the *Kumārasambhavam* is nicely presented in good *Devanāgarī* computerized form. At the end, two Appendices are given, one containing Index of verses of all the seven *sargas* in *Devanāgarī* alphabetical order and similarly second Index, containing list of quotations in the commentary with reference to the *sarga* & verse number, where they occur in the text with an attempt to trace them to the original sources.

The attempt of the editor to bring to light an unpublished work on a single Palm-leaf manuscript is really praiseworthy. He has taken great pains to make the text as perfect as possible by properly editing & also by tracing the quotations to their original sources.

However, some quotations have still remained untraced. Some mistakes are seen in the Sanskrit text, which should be corrected in the next edition, by careful reading. One would expect *Parasavarṇa* instead of *Anusvāra* everywhere in the Sanskrit commentary. More exhaustive introduction with detailed description of the manuscript, study of the peculiarities of the commentary would have enhanced the value of the book.

At any rate, the book is a welcome addition to the commentatorial literature on the *Kumārasambhavam* of Kālidāsa and the editor and the publisher deserve our hearty congratulations for the same.

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Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśam with Salakṣaṇā Commentary by Sarvajñavanamuni, Ed. by Dr. N.V.P. Unithiri, Calicut University, Series No. 9, Pub. by Valsarajan P.V., Publication Officer, University of Calicut, Calicut, 2002, pp. 160. Price : Rs. 80/-.

It is a heartening sign that now-a-days many of the Sanskrit scholars/teachers are trying their hands at unearthing the little known treasure of Sanskrit compositions found in manuscript-form only. Kerala is very well-known for the rich treasure-house of rare manuscripts. It is in the fitness of things that such varied collections of manuscripts are being handled with a view to making them available in print for the benefit of interested scholars. On this background, the publication of the present rare work assumes great importance.

Prof. Dr. N.V.P. Unithiri of the Calicut University has done yeoman's services by bringing out the present edition of the *Raghuvaṁśam* of Kālidāsa with the *Salakṣaṇā* commentary by Sarvajñavanamuni *alias* Nityāmṛta, hailing from Kerala. It is our misfortune that the work as it has come down to us, contains only 5 *sargas* along with the commentary. Dr. Unithiri, in his very brief three-page Introduction (which resembles-with obvious changes - the Introduction he has written for the *Kumārasaṁbhavam* edition also which is reviewed in this same issue of the Journal) has tried his best to say a few words about the discovery of this rare manuscript through the endeavours of Prof. Dr. Ashok N. Aklujkar of the British Colambia University, Canada, the physical description of the manuscript and the general description of the commentary, a few words about the commentator and his time etc. The world of scholars would have been highly obliged to Dr. Unithiri, had he furnished a critical evaluation of the commentary and the importance thereof.

A few words about some technical points :

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(1) While binding the books, page nos. from 65 to 96 are bound in *reverse order* between page 64 and 97.

(2) While giving the references, exact locations of the quotations are not given at many places and they have remained incomplete with only the name of the work given.

Such things could be corrected in the next edition.

In sum, I have no hesitation to say that there is a need to revise '*The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature*', wherein due notice of such books recently published and based on newly discovered manuscripts is taken.

I congratulate the editor and the publisher, on their efforts in the field of intellectual pursuits.

S. Y. Wakankar

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Samaṇ Suttaṁ, Ed. by Sagarmal Jain, Compiled by Sri Jinendra Varni, Tra. by T. K. Tukol & K. K. Dixit, Pub. by Bhagwan Mahavir Memorial Samiti, Bhagwan Mahavir Kendra, Benito Juarez Road, New Delhi - 110 021, Second Edition, 1999, pp. xxiii + 290, Price : Rs. 100/-.

This compilation is the result of Acharya Vinobaji's inspiration. Jainism has many traditions and many a work of commendable quality has been accomplished by eminent Jaina scholars and other interested research scholars outside Jaina community.

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Jainism, being a Vedic religion, is bound to have shades of Hinduism, especially *Bhagavadgītā*.

The basic idea of this Jaina anthology is that there is in every individual, an element of truth. That is why human birth becomes meaningful. The teachings of Mahāvīra says that we must all become the votaries of truth. It is in essence, the teaching of Mahāvīra.

The essays published here were read and discussed before eminent scholars of Jainism. Thus, they all carry their credentials. They unanimously breath out the same truth of the presence of *Ātman* and *Paramātman* in all religions.

This brief collection of '*Sūtra*' is popularly used in the Jaina tradition for its Prakrit *sutta*, which means *sūtra, sūkta* or even *śruta*.

The collection of the verses is from the ancient texts. One may regard them as speaking the essentials of Jaina religion and perhaps philosophy. The book is quite arbitrarily divided into four parts and forty-four sections. Altogether it consists of 756 verses, all in Prakrit.

The first part is *Jyotirmukha* or source of illumination. It is a kind of self-revelation in all its majestic form - all above the mundane routine life.

The second part delves in the concept of Emancipation. An attempt to overcome all kinds of dualism is spelt out here.

The third part consolidates faith in principles. The seven principles, the nine fundamental principles and the six substances all together synthesise to give a theory of creation of universe. This part also takes care of the concept of eternity and endlessness.

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The fourth part is technically called the *Syādvāda*, the doctrine of the seven predications. Jaina Logic is *Anekāntavāda*. Everything worth serious and scholarly attention is accommodated in this section.

It is of course a genuine source of information for anyone seeking information on Jaina Religion and Philosophy. No doubt it will be a cursory introduction for scholarship and research. Nevertheless, it does serve as a torch for those who want to have further knowledge on what Jainism has in store beyond their much-known and popular philosophy of non-violence and asceticism.

One can casually open any page and get interested in the topics of his choice, like 'precepts of right faith', 'precepts of valid knowledge', 'precepts on passionless death' without losing the link of the main thought. Each *sūtra* thus conveys its maximum meaning through careful translation.

Complete with index, photographs and communication with Pujya Vinoba, this once lost and vast treasure of knowledge is before us in a small package.

Yogini G. Nighoskar

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Enlightenment Beyond Traditions, Ed. by Aziz Kristof and Houman Emami, Pub. by M/s. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi-110 007, First Edition, 1999, pp. 1 + xxi + 190, Price : Rs. 250/- (Cloth) and Rs. 150/- (Paper).

The work under review represents a very timely attempt to show that the past traditions perceived only one dimension of growth : the expansion into the inner

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state. The authors say in the Introduction that the return to the original state is the purpose of growth in their vision, naturally, there is no place for the positive evolution into the all-inclusive wholeness of Me. However, the awakening to Me, which is the soul, is our primal task.

This book is not merely a description of the Supreme Understanding. Each chapter of this book represents a certain important stage of human evolution towards complete understanding of the Reality. Every chapter is a piece of truth, an angle of seeing the picture of reality. The simple purpose of this book is to show the journey of consciousness from ignorance and confusion towards the realization of the 'I Am'. In 'The Vision of this book' (p. XV), the authors quoted these words and further noted that - 'The awakening of the inner states is not a final goal but a foundation upon which the real goal can be attained. This goal is the complete awakening to the dimension of Me. Englightenment to Me is the real purpose of our evolution' (pp. XV-XVI). The aim of this book is to show the journey of consciousness from ignorance and confusion towards the full realization of the 'I am'.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I-Realm of the Inner, II-Realm of the Human, III-Realm of the Divine, IV-Realm of the Wholeness. There are some sub-titles in all four parts and in the beginning of all four parts, there is a beautiful picture relating to the subject. The authors have shown insight in study of meditation. As noted on p. 4, meditation is the art of entering our inner reality directly. Meditation is not simply 'not-thinking'. It is beyond thinking.....To sit in meditation is to be in a state of consciousness which is naturally deeper than the occurrence of thoughts (p. 5). It is nicely pointed out on p. 23 that meditation is the art of transcending the mind with the mind.....meditation is a state of being and not a state of doing, but to transcend the mind's ignorance, certain elements must be introduced. We can say that any meditation on an object whether it is breath, mind, body or feelings, is a

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semi-meditation or negative meditation. 'Negative' because it refers to the object and not to the subject. The object always belongs to the past (p. 24). It is rightly observed on p. 25, the realm of *Shikan-taza* or pure meditation. In *Shikan-taza*, the will of personal intelligence is not eliminated, but minimized to the level of experiencing deep rest and non-doing as a foundation (p. 27). Further, the observation regarding meditation is that, meditation is an art form that takes us beyond ignorance. It is the essence of life. Whosoever enters this path, truly for the first time, enters the life (p. 28).

The authors have shown their depth and insight into the field of Buddhism also. According to Buddha, there is nothing permanent in this world. It is noted that if there was no unborn, there would not be any possibility of liberation. The Enlightenment and the interpretation of reality based on Enlightenment are not the same. The *Vipassanā* practitioner tries to reach certain Buddhist philosophical conclusions without being in the Enlightened state (p. 30). Buddha experienced his great Enlightenment under the *Boddhi* tree. He shifted into the new dimension of being which is the unborn source of manifestation. It is nicely pointed out here that whatever one says, one will be accused of the false belief in the self-liberation exists not because the false is seen as false but because and only because the Truth is seen as the Truth (p. 31).

The authors have shown great critical acumen as regards comparative evaluation of *Vipassanā* with *Zen* technique of Buddhism. As noted on p. 33, from the observation and mindfulness of the phenomenal reality; we shift into the dimension of being. We can say that at that moment *Vipassanā* turns into *Shikan-taza*. *Shikan-taza* is not a *Zen* technique but a universal state of consciousness. The meaning of *Shikan-taza* is : 'Just being' that is 'non-doing while being conscious'. The question asked on p. 38 that why we select mind from the view point of the awakening ? For

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the very simple reason that the attention is generated in the mind and the thinking process is the nearest to the centre of watchfulness. To be able to create a distance and space between the 'watcher' and the thinking, is extremely important. To be conscious of one's mind, is for most of the people, a very difficult task. It is simply too close to Me.

There are three pillars of reaching the Absolute State : Awakening, Stabilization and Integration (p. 53). Being a human, the role of Ego in our life is important. We have the capacity of reflecting upon ourselves to create an ego-image. We have a strong need to assert ourselves. The ego-image is one's only trace of identity and the only source of power and security in the world. Human life is a paradox. There are biological and psychological restrictions of the world we happen to be living in. This is Reality, it is the Truth. The Truth is beyond idealism and realism as well. Truth is also a paradox. Life is more than our ideas. Life is our challenge. The authors note about the Human life that our life is full of contradictions and we bring balance and harmony into it. All is valid. We must learn how to eliminate our desires and emotions and develop wisdom and understanding. This is how the journey towards compassion begins (pp. 72-74). Enlightenment has nothing to do with any modification of the ego-personality in terms of eliminating desire or negative emotions. The state of Enlightenment is truly a new dimension of being, beyond the realm of personality (p. 78). It is absolutely wrong to assume that Enlightenment destroys suffering. Suffering cannot be destroyed, for it is simply a part of life. Here the authors quoted Buddha's view that the only way to 'end' suffering was to go beyond existence itself. Suffering can be seen as an indivisible part of energy through which our evolution, growth and expansion happens (p. 81 & 83).

The authors strongly recommend the importance of prayer in our life on pages No. 138-139. The prayer is extremely important, for it is only the one who

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created our heart that can open it. No healing is possible without the Creator. Buddhism speaks about the law of *Karma*, but who created *Karma* ? In reality, we are responsible for our lives only to a very small extent, prayer, real prayer, opens the door to the Beyond. When time comes, the heart is healed and the energy of the Divine can flow. This is called : Enlightenment to the heart. The one who is seen and touched, enters the realm of the Divine, the Celestial Realm.

It is very difficult to review and judge this book. The book is excellent. All the points, views and thoughts connected to the Enlightenment are discussed very deeply and completely. For persons who have keen desire to enter into the path of Enlightenment, this book would prove a precious gift for them. The cover-page of this book is excellent and related to the title of the book. Many congratulations to both the authors for this valuable gift to the mankind.

Usha Brahmachari

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An Introduction to Metaphysics, Ed. by Martin Heidegger, Tra. by Ralph Manheim, Pub. by Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Private Limited, Delhi, 1999, pp. X + 214, Price : Rs. 225/-.

The present book of Martin Heidegger, a renowned philosopher of Germany, is an important contribution to the literature of metaphysics. It contains four lectures only, which he had delivered at the University of Freiburg in Breisgau during the summer semester in 1935. As the author informs, he has thoroughly revised it before presenting the material in the book-form. One can easily observe that the

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author has spared no pains in making the text more readable and enjoyable. The attempt makes the book more interesting.

The book contains four chapters, *viz.*, 'The Fundamental Question of Metaphysics,' 'On the Grammar and Etymology of the word Being', 'The Question of the Essence of Being' and 'Limitation of Being.' The word-index is given at the end.

To my knowledge, the book is not just an introduction, though it is entitled so, because it contains a significant wealth of metaphysical thought which is critical and also profound. But the title is justified in the sense that the book deals with the central issue of metaphysics i.e. the problem of Being. The problem is no doubt complicated and it has been thoroughly discussed by the predecessors of Heidegger with whom he disagrees. The author has tried his best to delve deep into this problem and has expressed his reflections nicely though his approach is little bit dialectical. His arguments are sharp and convincing. They reveal his indepth understanding of the problem in hand. The philosopher begins with the question : 'Why there are essents rather than nothing ?' He then inquires into the meaning of Being. To him, what is so far known about Being is vague and does not satisfy the quest for philosophical investigation. For this reason, the fundamental question that strikes Heidegger is : 'What is the true meaning of Being ?' The answer to this question is the main point of his discussion and it is the dominant issue of his philosophy. He agrees with the Aristotelian thinkers that Being is not an entity and so it is indefinable. But, the indefinability of Being does not invalidate the question of its meaning. Though the concept of Being is self-evident, it is still under the veil and therefore in need of further inquiry. In this book the author has given an intelligible account of the problem of Being. He also proves the relevance of this problem with sound arguments as it is not only the main problem of metaphysics but of human existence. He also analyses here the grammatical forms and etymological roots of the word Being. He discusses elaborately the meaning of Being as it is given by the Greek thinkers.

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Those who have read Heidegger's magnanimous book, *Being and Time*, that has appeared in 1927, will find the present book as its companion.

I do not have any hesitation in saying that the translator has made a commendable work. To translate the original work written in German and that too of a great thinker like Heidegger is not an easy task. The fruit of his labour is clearly visible on each page of this book. Original author's thoughts are clearly transferred in the translation. I do not think that the reader will miss any important point in the work of this translation meticulously prepared by Ralph Manheim who has a complete mastery over the philosophy of Heidegger. I am sure that the book will be well appreciated by the world of learned philosophers.

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Vadodara.

Mānasasandeśam, Pt. Digambara Mahapatra, Pub. by Umesh Chandra Mahapatra, A/399, Koyal Nagara, Rourkela - 769 014, Orissa, 1988, pp. 38, Price : Rs. 12/-.

Modern Sanskrit poets like those of the Classical period have attempted to compose poems of various types such as *Mahākāvya, Khaṇḍakāvya, Gītikāvya, Nītikāvya, Sandeśakāvya, Laharīkāvya, Stotrakāvya, Praśastikāvya, Saṁvādakāvya* etc. It is a matter of pleasure for all the *sāhityarasikas* that this tradition is still continuing in the field of Sanskrit Literature. The same trends, the same forms, the same patterns, the same styles and the same modes of expressions have not vanished from the culture of creative writing. One of such trend is of *Dūtakāvyas*, also

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popular as *Sandeśakāvyas.* This trend has equally fascinated Classical as well as Modern Sanskrit poets. The *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa is the first of its kind. After this celebrated piece of poetry, as we know from the simple survey, more than 200 *dūtakāvyas* are composed on various topics. Among these *kāvyas* some are just imitations of the *Meghadūta* while some *kāvyas* are innovative.

Some poets have selected insentient objects as the messenger while some liked sentient object as the bearer of their message. However, it is found that birds have become the favourite to poets. Pt. Digambara Mahapatra is one of those poets who make an abstract object like *Mānasa* (mind) as the messenger and composed *Mānasasandeśam.* Mind has been made messenger in many *kāvyas.* Among them the *Manodūtam* of Tailang Vrajanath comes first to claim quality and novelty. In this *kāvya*, Draupadī sends her mind to the Lord Kṛṣṇa with a message to protect her from Duḥśāsana. Other *kāvyas* namely *Manodūtam* of Vishnudasa, *Mānasasandeśam* of Viraraghavacharya, *Mānasasandeśam* of Lakshman Suri, *Cetodūta* of some Jain poet and *Hṛdayadūta* of Bhatt Harihara come in this line.

In the present work, the mind is personified as a swan. The main theme of the *kāvya* is the journey of mind-swan from Śrīkṣetram (Jagannātha Puri), the native place of the poet, to Mānasa-lake which is existing in the vicinity of the Himālaya. The *kāvya* comprises 179 verses under the following 15 headings :

(१) मङ्गलाचरणम् (२) मानसम् (३) श्रीक्षेत्रम् (४) अर्कक्षेत्रम् (५) चिलिका (६) विहारभूमिः (७) प्रयागः (८) अशोकदुर्गः (९) आग्रा (१०) दिल्ली (११) काश्मीरः (१२) श्रीनगरम् (१३) कैलासः (१४) मानसं सरः (१५) काव्यप्रशस्तिः ।

The poet does not follow the Kālidāsa-model. It is evident from the fact that in the present *Mānsasandeśa, Vipralaṁbha-śṛṅgāra* is not delineated as the main sentiment, the pangs of separation of lovers do not find place and therefore the poet does not make use of *Mandākrāntā* metre, which is employed by most of the writers

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of the *dūta-kāvyas*. Contrary to it, the poet sends his mind to Mānasa-lake and advises him not to be entangled with the worldly problems and to take rest being completely free from transmigratory chain. Here Mānasa-lake is described as the Supreme abode of swans i.e. Mānasa. The simple idea of sending *Mānasa* to its final goal i.e. Supreme Reality for realising highest peace and eternal bliss has given shape to this poem. From the poet's description it is known that the Mānasa-lake itself symbolises the ultimate abode of everlasting peace where a person transcends his individuality and merges into the absolute.

By way of describing the route of the journey from Eastern India to Northern India, the poet takes an opportunity to glorify various religious places like Puri, Konark, Prayag etc. He also describes the natural beauty of Chilika lake of Orissa and cities like Agra, Delhi, Kashmir etc. The poet has not left the description of the historical monuments like Jumma Masjid. He writes :

प्रशस्यते शाहजहान - पार्थिवो
'जुमा' ख्य - मस्जीद - विधायको महान् ।
शरीरमात्रं विगतं तु तस्य तद्
यशःशरीरं चिरमत्र संस्थितम् ॥ (p. 15)

The poet eulogises the city Prayāga in the following words :

तिस्रो मिलन्ति सरितः परिपूततोया
गङ्गा त्विषाम्पतिसुता च सरस्वती च ।
तद्धाम मानसखग ! प्रणम प्रकामं
यत्रोढनैकयुग - संस्कृति - सम्प्रदायाः ॥ (p. 9)

The description of shrines of Shri Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru,Lal Bahadur Shastri along with parliament house adds more charm to this creation. The poet hardly forgets a *samānadharmā*. Pandit Mahapatra tries to renew our memory

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by way of naratting the famous Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa's romance with Candralekhā in the following words :

क्व हन्त हे बिल्हण हे महाकवे !
भवान् गतः क्व क्व च जन्म तेऽभवत् ।
क्व चन्द्रलेखाऽधरपीडनं कृतं
कथं सुधास्यन्दि मरन्दकं त्वया ॥ (p. 20)

स्मरन्ति विज्ञाः कवितस्करस्य ते
सहेलगुप्तप्रणयं स्वभावजम् ।
स वीरसिंहः कुपितोऽपि ते धिया
पराजितोऽभूद् भवते नमो नमः ॥ (p. 21)

The poet also admires the sublime contribution of Kashmirian poets and literary critics like Maṅkha and Rājaśekhara. The holy nature of the Kailas Mountain and the glory of Kailāsapati Śaṅkara do not slip from the facile pen of the poet.

At the end of the poem, the swan meets his ladylove at Mānasa-lake and expresses his experiences of journey. He also describes about the imbalances, poverty, corruption and other social maladies that have polluted our society. The swan expresses his disliking and agony towards such a society. That is the reason, he says, of his coming to the Mānasa lake to achieve everlasting peace. Here ends the poem.

Though small, the poem comprises beautiful ideas and descriptions expressed in lucid language with various figures of speech and suitable metres. To facilitate the readers, word-meanings are supplied by the poet. Two pictures of swans in the poem are well-executed by the poet himself.

The present *Sandeśa-kāvya* though composed in a traditional form has its own originality. The theme is allegorical. The picture of the current society and its

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effects over the mind of human being have been aptly and ably expressed in poet's language. The work, I hope, will be well-appreciated by the connoisseurs.

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Sundar Kāṇḍa, Tra. by Swami Satyananda Saraswati and Shri Ma, Devi Mandir Publications and Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Private Limited, Delhi, 1998, pp. 1-195, Price : Rs. 95/-.

The present book is an English translation of the *Sundara Kāṇḍa* of Tulasīdāsa's (1532-1623) *Rāmacaritamānasa.* The *Rāmacaritamānasa* was written in Avadhi language and between 1574 and 1577. Tulasīdāsa was a great saint-poet and a spiritual heir of Rāmānanda who flourished in that period which is termed as the *Bhakti* period. The *Bhakti* movement demanded nothing but a true and emotional love for the God. Saint Tulasīdāsa's poems in the *Rāmacaritamānasa* are rendered into English by Svāmi Satyānanda. Tulasīdāsa's poems have so deep-rooted philosophical ideas that Swamiji himself says in his Introduction that it is impossible to replicate his language and takes so many English words to translate his ideas. The translator has given transliteration of the poet's original poems in three scripts viz., Devanāgarī, Roman and Bengali. They are followed by the English Translation.

The poet Tulasīdāsa's *Rāmacaritamānasa* is so popular that it has been translated into various languages. Its English translation is also available in printed form. But the present translation is very different from the other one. Swamiji not only translated the poet's words but also rendered his philosophical ideas. According to him, Rāma is not only the Lord, he is the Pure Consciousness, Sīta is his true

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Nature, Lakṣmaṇa is the Determination and Hanumān is Pure Devotion. Bibhīṣaṇa is the Discrimination of right and wrong whereas Rāvaṇa is Ego. While translating Swamiji never refers to Rāma or Lakṣmaṇa, instead Consciousness, Determination and so on. In the Introduction, Swami Satyanandaji depicts the Rāma-story in this manner. He says, 'The Soul (i.e. Rāma) goes in search for his perfect Nature (i.e. Sītā) which has been stolen by the selfishness of Ego (i.e. Rāvaṇa). Again, 'Only Devotion (i.e. Hanumān) is able to cross the ocean of worldliness-Consciousness and Determination alone cannot go. He says that he who has *unshakable* faith towards the Lord is the Pure Devotee. This faith and love for the God can only save the mankind, no need for ascetism or sacrificial rites. This was the message towards people in the *Bhakti* period. Devotee Tulasīdāsa's every stanza is the testimony to his deep devotion towards Lord Rāma.

Swami Satyananda finds this *Kāṇḍa* as the most beautiful chapter of the *Rāmacaritamānasa.* This chapter is filled with deep philosophy with human ethical behaviours. The most important thing is that in this *Kāṇḍa* Consciousness, Determination, Devotion and Discrimination all are united together to defeat Ego and bring back the true divine Nature. This is the ideal and true culture of India that has been accepted by the whole world.

The present book also contains translations of *Rāmastuti, Hanumān Cālīsā, Hanumān-Āratī, Jai Jagadīśa Hare* etc. These are also added in the same manner, first transliteration of original poems in three scripts which are followed by English translation.

An introduction of the 'Cast of Characters' at the end of the book will enhance the value of the book and will help the reader to understand the rendering of Swamiji.

If some diacritical mistakes could have been avoided, the book would have been termed as perfect publication. I am mentioning only one mistake *Sundar* (in the

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cover-page and in the book) should be *Sundara.* Some petty spelling mistakes have been over-looked. Thirdly, publisher like Motilal Banarsidass should have been slightly careful while binding the book as pp. 109-124 (16 pages) are missing and repetition of pp. 101-108 and pp. 125-132 (total 16 pages) occurred in this particular copy.

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The Traditional Sanskrit Theatre of Kerala, Dr. C. Rajendran, Department of Sanskrit, University of Calicut, 1989, pp. i - 45, Price : Rs. 8/-.

It makes the students of Sanskrit Drama often wonder that how did the traditional theatrical practices of Sanskrit Drama 'look' when enacted according to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the presence of *Sāmājikas*! Unfortunately, we, the bacon-holders of an ancient culture, do not have the slightest imagination about it as the traditional theatrical practices of Sanskrit Drama are nearly extinct. The monograph of Dr. C. Rajendran - '*The Traditional Sanskrit Theatre of Kerala*', gives us hope to witness some of its elements in the Kerala's regional theatre '*Kūṭiyāṭṭam*' (pronounced *Kūriyāṭṭam* in some regions). In fact, his research finds it the only surviving Sanskrit theatre of India.(p. 8).

The book, published as 'Calicut University Sanskrit Series No. 3,' is divided into 5 parts, namely 1. The Sanskrit Drama and Stage, 2. Performance according to *Nāṭyaśāstra* 3. *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* as the Sanskrit Theatre, 4. Conclusion, 5. Bibliography.

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The book is a result of the research work undertaken by Dr. Rajendran under U.G.C. scheme entitled, 'The Staging of Sanskrit Drama - A Study with Special Reference to Kūṭiyāṭṭam' (1982-84).

The detailed work of Dr. Rajendran on the subject presents some very interesting facts like -

1. *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* has the history of at least two thousand years in Kerala.

2. The Buddhists - the earlier settlers in Kerala, who might have coined the term - *Cākyāra* - the traditional actors of *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* (from Śākya - a member of Buddhist fold), were the first promotors of Kerala Sanskrit Theatre, but they were superceded at the time of the Brahmanical supremacy.

3. The ancient Sanskrit dramas were not enacted in full form, but, only in some acts which were often treated as autonomous units and known as independent segments of the play. *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* still follows the same tradition. In fact the author has given a list of acts of plays, current in the contemporary stage on page 9. It takes many days to complete the performance of an act on stage because of the elaborated *Pūrvaraṅga* rituals and other things. Thus it takes eleven nights to perform the first act of the *Subhadrādhanañjaya* (p. 10).

4. Three acts of three different dramas by three different authors on one theme can be enacted together as a series like the *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi,* the *Abhiṣeka* and the *Pratimānāṭaka* can make a series of the entire story of the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

5. A *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* is always enacted in a temple.

6. Adventurous settings on stage for some plays are arranged like - flying down by Garuḍa and taking away *Jīmūtavāhana* (in the *Nāgānanda*) or jumping down in river by the heroine in the *Tāpasa-vatsarāja* (p. 35) but sophisticated *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* does not go for these manoeuvres.

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7. Absence of melodious music is a striking difference between *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* and *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Instead of melody, rhythm is very prominent in *Kūṭiyāṭṭam*.

With the passing of time, *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* is also losing its popularity. It has now become synonymous with ritualistic and religious kind of play. Performance of only certain special plays (acts), is making it a monotonous exercise enacted in front of the spectators.

Dr. Rajendran should be congratulated on his commendable effort of bringing forward a little-known Sanskrit theatre of Kerala to the notice of scholars. The lovers of traditional Sanskrit Drama will definitely find the book very interesting.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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[Picture from the *Devimāhātmyam*, Acc. No. 25094]

Edited and Published by **Prof. Dr. Mukund Lalji Wadekar**, *Offg. Director,* Oriental Institute, on behalf of The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara - 390 001, (India), ***Printed by*** **Shri P. N. Srivastava**, *Manager*, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Press (Sadhana Press), Near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Vadodara-390 001. Issued - September, 2004.